ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: TRACING TRANSCOLONIAL INTIMACIES: RELATIONAL RESISTANCE THROUGH THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN (1945-1952)

Megu Itoh, Doctor of Philosophy, 2024

Dissertation directed by: Associate Professor Carly S. Woods, Department of Communication

Tracing Transcolonial Intimacies seeks to respond to the central question, "how can we work together across difference?" by exploring rhetorical strategies that bring people together across the divisions of coloniality. I enact a relational approach to rhetorical studies, to decenter individual subjectivity and to spotlight resistant relationalities. I combine this with a transcolonial framework, which grapples with the multiple vectors of coloniality. Such orientations enable the theorization of transcolonial intimacies, or mutual recognitions of humanity which bring the Other into the self. This project thus illuminates transcolonial intimacies as a form of resistant relationality obfuscated by colonial hegemonies. I am particularly invested in locating and analyzing transcolonial intimacies through the Occupation of Japan (1945-1952), a period defined by the collision between the Japanese and US empires, and the subsequent rupture of the Japanese empire. The three case studies thus seek to understand how Japanese civilians

and Americans involved with the Occupation found opportunities to connect across three themes: race, gender, and foodways. These transcolonial intimacies reverberate, existing within a lineage of solidarities that draw from the past and extend into the future. To reckon with such relations of resistance, which move across time and space, I trace fragmented texts and artifacts situated in archives across national and cultural borders. Chapter 1 foregrounds relationships between Black American men soldiers and Japanese women civilians during a time of anti-fraternization and shared segregation under global white supremacy. Themes from the early twentieth century, such as the world color line and Black internationalism, regained relevance and functioned to reimagine Black American-Japanese solidarities. Chapter 2 examines how American women working for the Occupation and Japanese women union leaders collaborated on the adoption of menstruation leave. I argue that menstruation leave served dual purposes of liberation and containment, and also interrogate the story of menstruation leave as it is told through Mead Smith Karras, an economist for the Occupation administration. Chapter 3 illuminates how the total war period and the Occupation forced Japanese people to adapt their foodways for survival. I shed light on American participation within this process, including consumption of the Other and the uncomfortable reckonings that ensue. The dissertation concludes by following reverberations of transcolonial intimacies into the present, with an acknowledgment of what dehumanizes and divides, but also with an invitation to turn towards what humanizes and connects.

TRACING TRANSCOLONIAL INTIMACIES: RELATIONAL RESISTANCE THROUGH THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN (1945-1952)

by

Megu Itoh

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2024

Advisory Committee:
Associate Professor Carly S. Woods, Chair
Associate Professor Kristy Maddux
Associate Professor Damien Smith Pfister
Associate Professor Catherine Knight Steele
Professor Michele M. Mason, Dean's Representative

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents: if I am indeed a *taka,* it is only because of the countless sacrifices you have made for my education, the love you have nurtured me with, and the unwavering support you have gifted me as I found my path.

Acknowledgments

One of my favorite proverbs in Japanese is "*nana korobi ya oki*," which translates to "fall seven times, get up eight." It refers to someone who is resilient in the face of failure, who continues to try again. I have found myself on the ground many times. This dissertation has been made possible by my mentors, friends, and family—the people who pulled me back up.

I begin by recognizing my advisor, Carly S. Woods. She believed in me when I did not believe in myself. Her excitement about my research interests empowered me to pursue my most authentic path. I once said to her, at a department bowling event, that she was like the "gutter guards" because she kept her advisees on track but allowed them to freely pursue their own trajectories. I wish I had come up with a different metaphor, but the sentiment stands. I am grateful that she encouraged me to move in directions that I did not know were possibilities. She has inspired me, that much is obvious in the chapters that follow. But Carly has also pushed me and challenged me to be a more ethical, caring, and diligent scholar. She has empowered me and humbled me, in the best ways possible, and I am a better scholar because of her.

I follow by expressing appreciation for my dissertation committee. Kristy Maddux, Catherine Knight Steele, Damien Smith Pfister, and Michele M. Mason have all shaped this project. Our generative discussions have led me down various rabbit holes, which broadened my horizons while strengthening my scholarly identity. I am so honored to be in conversation with them about this document, and to continue learning from them beyond this dissertation.

I am also grateful for Shawn Parry-Giles, who suggested that I pursue the more personal, the intimate, as part of my research. During my first year of graduate school, Shawn encouraged me to engage my identity, highlighting this as a strength of my work. Her advice opened the door for me to envision projects that were closer to my heart, such as this one about my grandmother.

Kana Jenkins, curator of the Gordon W. Prange Collection housed at the University of Maryland, has been a guiding force. I walked into the Prange Collection with scattered thoughts, where Kana met me with patience and a wealth of knowledge. She oriented me toward various archival materials, which I draw from in each of my case studies. This dissertation would not have been possible without Kana's support.

I am blessed with *senpais* who have mentored me during their time at the University of Maryland and beyond. I hold gratitude for Drew Ashby-King, who was always excellent company from Marie Mount to Lot 1; for Jeannette Iannacone, who was one of the first people to believe in this project; and for Victoria Ledford, who taught me to be a better teacher and community member. I owe a special thank you to Darrian Carroll for his comradery and Facetime calls as we discussed everything from rhetorical theory to Love is Blind. I have learned invaluable lessons from his "hot takes" in seminar and from our arguments. I am indebted to Matthew Salzano for his LinkedIn message which prompted me to access my university email. I am also grateful for his brilliance which pushes me into unfamiliar yet rewarding spaces of thought, his generous mentorship which lights the path I walk, and his humorous wit which speaks for itself. I extend gratitude to my *kohai* Jin Choi for our coffee/lunch dates (and for fighting over the bill with me). I sit up a little taller and hold my head a little higher

knowing that she is watching. Our friendship has truly made all the difference. I also would not have made it without my rhetoric cohort: Fielding Montgomery, Brooke Phipps, and Taylor Hourigan (who doubled as my roommate, supporting me through ups and downs from College Park to Hyattsville). Collaborators-turned-friends Loveleen Brar, Caroline He, and GJ Sevillano have nourished me through their passion and research. Shang (Kaho) Yasuda has been a friend-turned-collaborator who, in the two decades that I have known her, showed me discipline and how to treasure close friends. Jill, Ron, and Anna Munro have given me a "home" throughout my time in the US—thank you for being my host family-turned-real family.

My parents often joke that two *tombi* gave birth to a *taka*, that they are just ordinary people with an outstanding child. But if I do excel in any way, I know the credit belongs to them. My father, who wanted me to be strong, but really taught me his sensitivity and quiet kindness. My mother, who wanted me to be smart, but really taught me her sweet charm and character. I am so proud to be their daughter.

Kiichi and I had only been dating for two months when he said, "You light up when you talk about your research, so why wouldn't you do a Ph.D.?" I thought he was gently breaking up with me, but he was actually just committed to doing five years of long distance. Since the very beginning, Kiichi had unshakeable confidence in me, which led me to believe in myself. To live life with Kiichi, then, is to know that I can accomplish anything if he is by my side.

And finally, to my Oma. Thank you for sharing your story with me. There is so much I wish I could have done for you then, so much I wish I could say to you now. Are you reading this? I love you and I miss you every day.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Illuminating Transcolonial Intimacies

"*Hontoni nasakenai/*it was so pathetic." These are the words my grandmother repeated as she recalled how war carelessly tore people apart. In 2015, I asked her to tell me about her experiences during World War II. I recorded her stories, unsure of what exactly I was doing but certain in the fact that my grandmother was part of the last generation who could still speak to us about the war. I remember the way she choked on her memories as she detailed her brothers being drafted into war, her sisters giving up their education to support the war, and her homegrown vegetables being stolen by neighborhood children forced to become thieves to survive the war. "*Hontoni nasakenai/*it was so pathetic."

Years later, as a Japanese graduate student studying in the US, I came to realize that my efforts to understand imperialism and colonialism can be traced back to that conversation with my grandmother. My dissertation is, first and foremost, my attempt to explore rhetorical strategies for working together across difference. It is a project that traces the possibilities of such connections across the Japanese and US empires through the Occupation of Japan (1945-1952). My grandmother lived through a war born from narratives of division and discrimination across Japanese and US imperialism and colonialism. Her stories reverberate through me, haunting and shaping me within a world where difference continues to be violently maintained. In some ways, her stories keep our relationship alive past her death. This relational emphasis guides my dissertation, my approach towards rhetorical studies.

Tracing Transcolonial Intimacies enacts a relational approach through a transcolonial framework, which disrupts dichotomies between colonized and colonizer. Specifically, a transcolonial framework is concerned with engaging multiple vectors of colonial power. I also theorize the generative possibility of "transcolonial intimacies" by examining the different and perhaps unexpected ways that people relate to each other across these multiple vectors of colonial power. This dissertation illuminates transcolonial intimacies during the Occupation of Japan, a period defined by collisions between Japanese and US empires, and the subsequent rupture of Japanese empire. I understand the particular exigencies of this moment through the metaphor of earthquakes. When two tectonic plates converge, the plate with a thin oceanic crust subducts beneath the plate with a thick continental crust. As a result of these plates being pushed together, earthquakes occur. I understand these convergent tectonic plates as the Japanese and US empires, and the seismic waves as the multiple vectors of colonial power.[1] Therefore, I trace transcolonial intimacies across these convergent/colonial boundaries to explore how Japanese people forged relationships with Americans involved in the Occupation, revealing the ways in which people worked together across difference. My key research questions are as follows:

I. In a world that constructs difference through colonial power, what strategies can we deploy to work together across difference? Alternatively, how can subjects occupying different positionalities create subversive coalitions across restrictive and oppressive borders?

[1] Here, I am drawing on Joan Wallach Scott's language of "seismic waves" in the context of her theory of feminist reverberations, which I unpack later in this chapter. See her "Feminist Reverberations," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 11.

II. What rhetorical strategies can subjects occupying different positionalities practice to engage each other? What are the implications for understanding rhetoric as relational and, in its intimacies, capable of moving across time and space?

III. How do these questions—and our attempts to answer them—(re)shape understandings of power and resistance?

This introduction proceeds in three parts. The first positions this work in the field of Rhetorical Studies and delves into my contribution to rhetorical theory. I begin by underscoring how rhetorical studies has been complicit with the construction and reinforcement of colonial discourse and propose the orientation of rhetorical studies toward relational, specifically transcolonial frameworks. I advance the notion of "transcolonial intimacies" as a form of collaboration that extends across multiple vectors of colonial power, outlining my theoretical investments in transcolonial studies and intimacy studies. The second part builds upon this articulation of transcolonial intimacies to detail my approach to method in the project, the process of tracing transcolonial intimacies within archival materials situated across national and cultural borders. The final section then explores how these ideas can be applied to the specific historical context I seek to engage: the Occupation of Japan.

A Relational Approach

Rhetorical studies has long grappled with its duality: its function to enact power and its capacity to critique power. As early as 1989, Raymie McKerrow advanced the concept of "critical rhetoric," which engages in critiques of domination and critiques of freedom

to "unmask or demystify the discourse of power."[2] McKerrow explains that the task of critical rhetoric, then, is to "undermine and expose the discourse of power in order to thwart its effects in a social relation."[3] Scholars like Dana Cloud have extended ideas of critical rhetoric to explore ideology criticism, which engages inequality and raises critical consciousness, siding with the "underdog" to expose power and organize for action.[4] Responding to Chávez's call to not simply make rhetoric "a more inclusive discipline," but instead, to make it "something entirely different," I situate this project within processes of reclaiming and reorienting rhetorical studies.[5] To do so, I join those who argue that we must shift our disciplinary orientations away from whiteness and colonialism.

This project showcases my attempt to resist colonial relationships and colonial discourse. Like Tiara Na'puti, I understand colonialism as an "ideology of domination over territories and peoples, manifested through development of exploitation of resources."[6] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin note that colonialism denotes the "specific form of cultural exploitation that developed with the expansion of Europe."[7] European colonialism in the post-Renaissance world became "a sufficiently specialized and historically specific form of imperial expansion to justify its current

---

[2] Raymie E. McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," *Communication Monographs* 56, no. 2 (June 1989): 91–111, https://doi.org/10.1080/03637758909390253.
[3] McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric," 98.
[4] Dana L. Cloud, "Rhetorical Criticism for Underdogs," in *Purpose, Practice, and Pedagogy in Rhetorical Criticism*, ed. Jim A. Kuypers (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), 23–38.
[5] Karma R. Chávez, "Beyond Inclusion: Rethinking Rhetoric's Historical Narrative," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101, no. 1 (2015): 162–72, https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2015.994908.
[6] Tiara R. Na'puti, "Rhetorical Contexts of Colonization and Decolonization," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication* (Oxford University Press, 2020).
[7] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 40.

general usage as a distinctive kind of political ideology."[8] One primary characteristic of European colonial expansion was its development alongside the "modern capitalist system of economic exchange," which cemented the expectation that colonies provide raw materials for the economies of colonial powers.[9] This relationality, driven by an unidirectional motive of exploitation locked in a "rigid hierarchy of difference deeply resistant to fair and equitable changes."[10] Processes of colonialism have thus come to involve the subjugation of another group motivated by the "belief of an inherent moral and material superiority of the imperial agent over an 'inferior' Indigenous society."[11] For Maldonado-Torres, coloniality differs from colonialism in that it refers to "long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations."[12] Coloniality thus "survives" colonialism.[13] Put differently, coloniality reaches across the axis of *time*.

However, coloniality also reaches across the axis of *space*. Walter Mignolo has connected coloniality and globalization, recognizing coloniality as the "darker side" of modernity, which emerged through the history of European colonialism.[14] Coloniality is consequently "constitutive of modernity," and any use of the common expression "global modernities" implies "global colonialities."[15] The "colonial matrix of power" is

---

[8] Ashcroft, Griffith, Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: Key Concepts,* 40.
[9] Ashcroft, Griffith, Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: Key Concepts,* 40.
[10] Ashcroft, Griffith, Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies: Key Concepts,* 40-41.
[11] Na'puti, "Rhetorical Contexts of Colonization and Decolonization."
[12] Nelson Maldonado-Torres, "On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (March 2007): 243.
[13] Maldonado-Torres, "On the Coloniality of Being," 243.
[14] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 2.
[15] Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity,* 3.

both shared and disputed by various stakeholders across the globe.[16] As such, "if there cannot be modernity without coloniality, there cannot either be global modernities without global colonialities."[17] Coloniality, and its global manifestations, recognize the existence of multiple stakeholders spanning across spatial borders. I thus understand coloniality as a force which cannot be bound to one particular context. Rather, coloniality must be framed as traveling across time and space. I suggest that we observe this dual movement within scholarly disciplines, particularly as colonial epistemologies are created and reinforced through academic traditions.

The processes of colonial discourse, which normalize colonialism and construct the Other, are inextricable from the workings of rhetorical studies, a transdisciplinary field that has traditionally privileged perspectives of whiteness and reinforced the circulation of colonial discourse. Scholars have argued that rhetorical studies is grounded in colonial histories. For example, within the forum #RhetoricSoWhite published in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, Darrel Wanzer-Serrano traces the history of rhetorical studies as being built "on the back of a pro-slavery segregationist (Aristotle)" and intentionally excluding scholars of color.[18] What we understand as rhetorical studies within the US academy thus stems from rhetorical vocabulary rooted in Greek thought, brought to the US as a function of European Colonial thought, which was then mobilized across the US through western expansionist thought. [19] Furthermore, rhetorical studies has traditionally stayed true to its colonial orientations by creating and

[16] Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity,* 3.
[17] Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity,* 3.
[18] Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, "Rhetoric's Rac(e/Ist) Problems," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105, no. 4 (2019): 467.
[19] John M. Murphy and Michael Lechuga, "The Role of the Critic," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 24, no. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2021): 51–67."

circulating colonial discourse. Raka Shome examines how western discursive practices legitimize contemporary global power structures.[20] What Shome terms "western discursive imperialism" thus demonstrates a shift from colonizing the Other territorially to colonizing the Other discursively.[21] This has been enacted through the discipline's obsession with "white men in *public*," which Karma Chávez sees as uplifting the tradition of US-based rhetoric privileging the voices belonging to citizens of western nation-states.[22] Rhetorical studies thus normalizes characteristics of whiteness within its disciplinary norms and knowledge production, which, as Godfried Asante notes, can also be observed within its meritocracy and citational practices.[23] The discipline has traditionally only recognized specific perspectives as having value, offering accolades to scholarship that adheres to colonial epistemologies. In fact, Matthew deTar has explained that the discipline "relies on a set of theories and a geography of case studies that circularly reinforce one another to authorize white-European and white-US traditions of knowledge beholden to colonial ways of knowing the world."[24] The task, then, is to join such scholars in recognizing the colonial orientations of rhetorical studies, and to unsettle the discipline from its complicity with maintaining colonial relationships and discourse. So, how do we, who recognize the problems with rhetorical studies yet believe in its capacity for resistance, do this? To answer this question, I offer a brief interlude of my orientation to rhetorical studies.

---

[20] Raka Shome, "Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An 'Other' View," *Communication Theory* 6, no. 1 (February 1996): 42.
[21] Shome, "Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon," 42.
[22] Chávez, "Beyond Inclusion," 163.
[23] Godfried Agyeman Asante, "#RhetoricSoWhite and US Centered: Reflections on Challenges and Opportunities," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105, no. 4 (October 2, 2019): 485.
[24] Matthew deTar, "Why 'Anticolonial' International Rhetorical Studies?," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 24, no. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2021): 191.

I am compelled to rhetoric through Plato's allegorical cave, particularly by rhetoric's capacities to engage the shadows on the wall. Jenell Johnson explains that for rhetoricians, the cave's shadows "constructed by symbols, is all we have to work with."[25] The rhetorical perspective is uniquely positioned to "adjust our focus away from the divine glare of universal truth and toward symbols in all their messy earthly contingency."[26] Matthew Houdek similarly guides rhetorical scholars toward engaging the shadows on the wall. Rather than describing the people inside the cave as "shackled prisoners" devoid of agency, Houdek suggests that they are capable of cultivating alternate realities, and asks, "But what if…those shackled folx *rendered strange* something otherwise altogether? What if a whole other real/ity, or multiple realities, could be found in the cave's shifting shadows, brought to life through the mutual practice of those who dwelled therein?"[27] Rhetorical studies engages these shadows to make meaning from what may "seem illogical and irrational, existing on/outside the edges of normative constructions of productivity, progress, and speech."[28] I thus frame rhetorical studies as concerned with the processes of meaning-making often disregarded in favor of truth-seeking. In other words, the disciplinary magic of rhetorical studies lies within its critical sensibilities, which seek to understand the symbols inside the cave. I argue that reckoning with these alternate realities allows rhetorical studies to resist the tradition of colonial epistemologies. This dissertation suggests one such opportunity for resistance, by understanding rhetoric as relational.

---

[25] Jenell M. Johnson, *American Lobotomy: A Rhetorical History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 12.
[26] Johnson, *American Lobotomy,* 12.
[27] Matthew Houdek, "(An) Allegory of the Undercommons: A Rhetorical Slipstream into the Fugitive Temporal Horizon," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (May 27, 2023): 354.
[28] Houdek, "(An) Allegory of the Undercommons," 362.

A relational approach reimagines rhetorical studies in two parts: first, by decentering individual subjectivity, and second, by spotlighting alternate and resistant relationalities. To begin, I draw from scholars who have unsettled notions of individuality. Aimee Carrillo Rowe has suggested that "there is no subject prior to infinitely shifting and contingent relations of belonging." [29] It is the "sites of belonging" that determine "how we see the world, what we value, who we are becoming."[30] In other words, the self is never an isolated individual. Instead, the self is "forged across a shifting set of relations that we move in and out of, often without reflection."[31] A departure from the notion of the individual self resists western traditions of individuality, and directs us toward recognizing "who we love, the communities that we live in, who we expand our emotional energies building ties with."[32] Carrillo Rowe is thus concerned with the affective ties we create with others, proposing a "politics of relation," which "moves theories of locating the subject to a relational notion of the subject."[33] A relational approach, then, is needed to unsettle the theories and conceptualizations surrounding the individual subject.

Furthermore, a relational approach embraces the types of connection that are unbound by recognizable categories. According to Jenna Hanchey, a relational theoretical orientation can reveal the relations that shape colonial discourse and epistemologies, and also disrupt these structures of power.[34] Hanchey explains that

---

[29] Carrillo Rowe, "Be Longing," 17.
[30] Aimee Carrillo Rowe, *Power Lines: On the Subject of Feminist Alliances* (Durham London: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.
[31] Carrillo Rowe, *Power Lines*, 3.
[32] Carrillo Rowe, "Be Longing," 16.
[33] Aimee Marie Carrillo Rowe, "Be Longing: Toward a Feminist Politics of Relation," *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 16.
[34] Jenna N. Hanchey, "Toward a Relational Politics of Representation," *Review of Communication* 18, no. 4 (October 2, 2018): 266.

attention to relational processes can "unpack what has been taken for granted or naturalized in our processes of theorizing, and thereby open possibility for as-yet-unthought relations that may lead to more just futures."[35] For example, Belinda Stillion-Southard complicates citizenship by imagining the concept as a type of belonging, which allows people to "imagine themselves as ideal constituents to a place," which empowers women to imagine themselves in relation to one another as "ideal rhetorical actors whose rhetorical practices constituted what it means to belong."[36] Relational approaches have thus worked as a process of recovery, highlighting relationships that are traditionally devalued or adding dimension to relationships that are taken for granted.

In sum, I suggest that a relational approach presumes "connectedness and attachment"[37] to decenter the western individual subject and delegitimizes the hegemony of western power structures. [38] Instead, a relational approach advances that relations themselves are "ever shifting, mutually implicative, and not always recognizable."[39] This section has thus challenged the colonial orientations within rhetorical studies. While holding the disciplinary traditions accountable, this dissertation explores transcolonial intimacies—a form of unrecognized relationalities—to reimagine the ways in which people have forged relations across difference.

---

[35] Hanchey, "Toward a Relational Politics of Representation," 266.
[36] Belinda A. Stillion Southard, *How to Belong: Women's Agency in a Transnational World* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 17.
[37] Nathan Stormer and Bridie McGreavy, "Thinking Ecologically About Rhetoric's Ontology: Capacity, Vulnerability, and Resilience," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 50, no. 1 (February 21, 2017): 3.
[38] Raka Shome, "Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An 'Other' View," *Communication Theory* 6, no. 1 (February 1996): 45.
[39] Hanchey, "Toward a Relational Politics of Representation," 278.

A Transcolonial Framework

My decision to adopt a transcolonial framework is rooted in a desire to recover relationships obfuscated by existing structures of colonial hegemonies, which best characterizes my focus on the transcolonial intimacies cultivated during the Occupation of Japan and their ongoing potentialities. Transcolonial studies demarcates itself from as a field separate from postcolonial studies but is "rooted in an approach to representation and power inaugurated by postcolonial studies scholars."[40] Postcolonialism offers a critical approach to analyzing the structures and effects of colonization. Ashcroft, Griffith, and Tiffin define postcolonialism as concerned with the study and analysis of "European territorial conquests, the various institutions of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects." [41] And perhaps more importantly, postcolonialism also refers to studying the differing responses to colonialism and the contemporary colonial legacies. [42] Shome similarly emphasizes the critical perspective embedded within postcolonialism, specifically its motivation to "expose the Eurocentrism and imperialism of western discourses."[43] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak calls the postcolonial subject a "native informant," characterizing them as having limited access to "being-human."[44] Postcolonialism thus challenges the colonizing and imperialistic tendencies within discursive practices of "first world" representations of

[40] Olivia C. Harrison, "Transcolonial Studies," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature* (Oxford University Press, May 2023), https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.1303.
[41] Ashcroft, Griffith, Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies,* 168.
[42] Ashcroft, Griffith, Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies,* 169.
[43] Shome "Post-Colonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon," 41.
[44] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 30.

subjects of "third world" countries and other racially oppressed groups.[45] The concern with subjectivity is what makes postcolonial perspectives so significant in "deconstructing grand cultural master narratives."[46]

The "post" in postcolonial remains a point of debate. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih are critical of postcolonial studies, claiming that it is insufficient in its focus on "the historical period since independence was achieved."[47] Their concern is that postcolonial continues to engage the relations between "dominant (colonizing cultures) and dominated (colonized) spaces" without providing an framework to study cultures that remain colonized or cultures that are subjected to the "colonizing effects of globalization."[48] Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin have similarly critiqued a clear break between the colonial and post-colonial, opting to define postcolonialism as a concept that recognizes multiplicities existing "between and across the politically defined historical periods, of pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence cultures."[49] However, Harish Trivedi has resisted such framings, arguing that a collapse of the colonial into the postcolonial is "to show that one cannot recognize the difference between a colony and a free country or that one doesn't care."[50] Although the trajectory of postcolonial studies erred toward rejecting distinctions between colonial and post-colonial, Trivedi explains that this approach glosses over the decolonial process. Such a strategy may work for nations where the colonial period "shaded off into the postcolonial without any pain and

---

[45] Shome, "Post-Colonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon," 42
[46] Shome, "Post-Colonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon," 45.
[47] Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds., *Minor Transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 11.
[48] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism,* 11.
[49] Ashcroft, Griffith, Tiffin, *Post-Colonial Studies,* 169. Also see Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "Is the Post- in Postmodernism the Post- in Postcolonial?" *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1991): 336–57.
[50] Harish Trivedi, "The Postcolonial or the Transcolonial? Location and Language," *Interventions* 1, no. 2 (January 1999): 270.

therefore politically significant rupture."[51] But for a country like India, where "the fracture between the colonial and the postcolonial was the one big headline of our modern history," proper attention must be paid to this breakage point.[52] There are thus conflicting ideas when it comes to the scope of postcolonial studies, requiring critical and intentional justifications from the critic.

Finally, postcolonial studies has been understood to reinforce dichotomies. Lionnet and Shih are critical of how postcolonial studies engages "vertical analysis confined to one nation-state," which centers the vertical relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.[53] They argue that this type of thinking fails to recognize the "productive cultural work of minorities" which result from their transcolonial and transnational experiences.[54] In other words, the vertical model has tended to "impede interethnic solidarity and international minority alliances," because it does not account for the complex flows between colonial power relations, global capital, cultural formations, and mobility across borders.[55] Lionnet and Shih thus call for a "horizontal approach" which would allow for engagement beyond binary categories.[56] They explain that such transcolonial orientations would account for the "creative interventions that networks of minoritized cultures produce within and across national boundaries."[57] Transcolonial studies thus rejects vertical dichotomous models of analysis and, instead, offers a horizontal and multitudinous framework.

---

[51] Trivedi, "The Postcolonial or the Transcolonial?," 270.
[52] Trivedi, "The Postcolonial or the Transcolonial?," 270.
[53] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalisms,* 11.
[54] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalisms,* 11.
[55] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalisms,* 4.
[56] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalisms,* 11.
[57] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalisms,* 7.

A transcolonial framework engages multiple vectors of colonial power, which makes it well-suited to understand the relationships between Japanese and US empires within this project. The term "transcolonialism" is attributed to Lionnet's theorizations in the late 1990s.[58] In "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism, or Transcolonialism? Reflections on Los Angeles, Geography, and the Uses of Theory," Lionnet discusses the "urgency of re-articulating that history in terms of geography, of theorizing networks of power and influence in terms of a transcolonial consciousness that resititutes both memory and space."[59] This approach recognizes that a transcolonial approach is built on an understanding of a "metaphorical mode of relatedness," but is explicit in the decision to dissociate transcolonialism from any binaries, including those of "master and slave" and "hybridity and the borderland."[60] Transcolonial subjectivity, then, exists "in tension with multiple epistemological locations."[61] This emphasis demonstrates the ties between transcolonialism and relationality. As Lionnet notes, transcolonialism is "a relational approach that takes the form of networks among sites marked differentially by the imperial project and the colonial will to power." [62] The relational emphasis of the transcolonial underscores that "delineated boundaries of influence by colonial empires were not as fixed as one might believe."[63] Transcolonial studies is thus concerned with disrupting colonial boundaries, foregrounding a relational approach to advance

[58] Harrison, "Transcolonial Studies."
[59] Françoise Lionnet, "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism? Reflections on Los Angeles, Geography, and the Uses of Theory," *Emergences* 10, no. 1 (2000): 28.
[60] Lionnet, "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism?" 28-29.
[61] Lionnet, "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism?" 29.
[62] Lionnet "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism?" 31.
[63] Daphne V. Taylor-Garcia, "Decolonial Historiography: Thinking about Land and Race in a Transcolonial Context," *InTensions*, no. 6 (November), 13.

"pluritopic rather than monologic argument[s] about the role of history and memory" and characterized by its relations emphasis amongst multiple flows of power.[64]

In practice, a transcolonial approach works in two parts, both of which help me unpack flows of oppression and resistance within the collision and rupture of empires. First, a focus on the transcolonial is invested in revealing complex structures of oppression. I draw from Harrison, who suggests that transcolonial studies "capture[s] the complicities between and among empires as well as the intertextualities and solidarities of anticolonial and antiracist movements."[65] This approach allows for accountability across multiple colonial oppressors and solidarities between multiple anticolonial resistors. Second, attention to the transcolonial illuminates the resistant solidarities occurring across colonial boundaries. Sara Johnson explains that transcolonial studies enables an examination of "intercolonial contact zones." The study of such spaces can "provide a counternarrative" to disciplines and fields that "still tend to compartmentalize the region according to colonial categorizations.[66] Johnson forwards the idea of transcolonial "collaboration[s]."[67] Drawing on a definition of collaboration "in its original sense of working together, of comingled labor for a common cause," Johnson explains that transcolonial collaborations are the solidarities fostered within the intercolonial contact zones.[68] Specifically, transcolonial collaborations can be observed in the "larger context of tension between and among states and local residents."[69] Transcolonial collaborations thus extend beyond traditional categories of colonizer

---

[64] Lionnet "Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism?," 31.
[65] Harrison, "Transcolonial Studies."
[66] Sara E. Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 2.
[67] Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes*, 4-5.
[68] Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes*, 5.
[69] Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes*, 4-5.

versus colonized, beyond vertical dynamics of power. Instead, transcolonial collaborations enable nuanced understandings of resistance between individuals and groups who fall along the horizontal axis. Therefore, I understand transcolonial collaborations to reshape and rearticulate how anticolonial resistance can be studied. My theoretical contribution to this conversation, transcolonial intimacies, falls under the umbrella of transcolonial collaborations.

Transcolonial Intimacies

This project weaves through different registers of intimacies. I begin by outlining what is perhaps the dominant definition, or the one that likely comes to mind first. The term intimate comes from the meaning "inmost, intrinsic" from the Late Latin *intimatus,* "make known, announce, impress," and from the Latin *intimus,* "inmost, innermost, deepest."[70] Consequently, contemporary understandings of intimacy have traditionally foregrounded the personal or private, or a variety of relationships (familial, platonic, sexual, romantic). But as innocuous as such ideas of intimacy may seem, they can be interwoven with colonial power. Ann Laura Stoler has made a compelling case for how "intimate domains—sex, sentiment, domestic arrangement, and child rearing—figure in the making of racial categories and in the management of imperial rule."[71] Stoler further argues that it was "in the gendered, racialized intimacies of the everyday, that women, men, and children were turned into subjects of particular kinds, as domination was routinized and rerouted in intimacies that the state sought to know but could never

[70] "Intimacy (Adj.)," in *Online Etymology Dictionary*, n.d., https://www.etymonline.com/word/intimacy.
[71] Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 25.

completely master or work out."[72] Thus, Stoler has outlined the ways in which intimacy has been an integral component of the colonial administration. Here, I place Stoler in conversation with Frantz Fanon to examine the ways in which colonial intimacies can bleed into anticolonial resistance. Fanon writes of "one of the laws of the psychology of colonization," and says, "In an initial phase, it is the action, the plans of the occupier that determine the centers of resistance around which a people's will to survive becomes organized."[73] Fanon follows by explaining that "To the colonialist offensive against the veil, the colonized opposes the cult of the veil."[74] If the colonial administration asserts itself in intimate ways, then resistance against these colonial powers will also be found within the intimate. Therefore, when I use the phrase "transcolonial intimacies," I mean to the relations which create and sustain anticolonial resistance. Colonialism dehumanizes and divides, while transcolonial intimacies rehumanizes and collaborates.

My understanding of intimacies also draws from Lisa Lowe, who frames intimacy as a heuristic. Lowe uses intimacy as "a means to observe the historical division of world processes into those that develop modern liberal subjects and modern spheres of social life, and those processes that are forgotten, case as failed or irrelevant because they do not produce 'value' legible within modern classifications."[75] Lowe recognizes the "colonial division of intimacy" and, in response, "charts the historically differentiated access to the domains of liberal personhood from interiority and individual will, to the possession of property and domesticity."[76] In other words, Lowe engages the

---

[72] Stoler, *Duress*, 57.
[73] Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2007), 47.
[74] Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, 47.
[75] Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 17-18.
[76] Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents,* 18.

"intimacies of four continents," revealing the connections between different laboring people which have been obfuscated by "the operations that universalize the Anglo-American liberal individual."[77] I recognize two points of emphasis here. First, intimacies are often eclipsed by colonial power—we do not hear what they do not want us to. Second, intimacies are not restricted to the intimate domains—the concept of intimacies can be extrapolated across patterns of labor and across continents. I am inspired by Lowe to similarly conceptualize transcolonial intimacies as a primarily unrecognized form of relationality, which when brought to the surface, can reveal a narrative about the resilient interconnectivity of people and their resistance despite colonial boundaries.

The following sections examine components of transcolonial intimacies, which I find integral to my theorization. I begin by outlining the role of affect in intimacy, to better understand how people can encounter one another across multiple vectors of coloniality. I then articulate how affect reveals the ways in which we are all interconnected, and how such realizations prompt mutual recognitions of humanity. I suggest that these transcolonial intimacies illustrate how people can connect across difference. Finally, I point to the ways in which transcolonial intimacies can create anticolonial collaborations that pursue better worlds.

Affect and Intimacies

I understand affect as being integral to the encounters which foster transcolonial intimacy. Gregory J. Seigworth and Melissa Gregg define affect as a phenomenon which "arises in the midst of *in-between-ness:* in the capacities to act and to be acted upon. Affect is an impingement or extrusion of a momentary or sometimes more sustained

[77] Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents,* 21.

state of relations *as well* as the passage (and the duration of passage) of forces or intensities."[78] Affect is also mobile, and as Catherine Chaput explains, it "physically moves through our bodies—sensed as intuitions, gut feelings, ideas, and beliefs that grip us regardless of precise facts—and helps constitute our socially constructed life practices."[79] Chaput also emphasizes the ways in which affective sensations circulate to map out connections.[80] Rickert similarly calls for an understanding of rhetoric that includes connections facilitated through affect, noting that rhetoric's theoretical commonplace has traditionally been limited to the "rhetor/subject, audience, language, image, technique, situation, and the appeals accomplishing persuasive work."[81] However, rhetoric must now "diffuse outward" to include "the material environment, things (including the technological), our own embodiment, and a complex understanding of ecological relationality."[82] Rickert thus calls for an understanding of ambience, to ask which embodiments and situatedness "take part in who we are and what we do."[83] The questions we ask should move away from privileging epistemologies and reason above all else, and instead, should move toward of the relationalities that we find ourselves connected to.[84] Affect thus alters what we conceptualize as relationships, opening us to recognize relationalities and intimacies that exists beyond disciplinary norms. For example, Jane Bennett uses affect to pay attention to the "material agency or effectivity

[78] Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010): 1.
[79] Catherine Chaput, "Rhetorical Circulation in Late Capitalism," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 43, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 14.
[80] Chaput, "Rhetorical Circulation in Late Capitalism,"14.
[81] Thomas J. Rickert, *Ambient Rhetoric: The Attunements of Rhetorical Being* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 3.
[82] Rickert, *Ambient Rhetorics,* 3.
[83] Rickert *Ambient Rhetorics,* 10.
[84] Rickert *Ambient Rhetorics,* 10.

of nonhuman or not-quite-human things."[85] In doing so, Bennett resists eliminating all difference but instead, examines the "affinities across these differences" which enable assemblages.[86] However, the role of affect is not only to illuminate relationalities. In fact, affect also opens us up to questions about power.[87] Marnie Ritchie argues that affect studies "reconsiders the exclusionary perimeters drawn by work on affect and rhetoric—and reconsiders the customs, structures, and norms that produce such boundaries."[88] Such work is vital, particularly to engage critical concerns about racism, sexism, heteronormativity, and other forms of hegemony including colonial epistemologies.[89] Affect thus facilitates the mutually transformative process of transcolonial intimacies, by orienting us towards relationalities that are not recognized by the imperial or colonial state.

Intimacies as Interconnection

Affect enables the understanding that we are all inherently—and sometimes intimately—interconnected. I build on Jenny Edbauer's discussion of rhetorical ecologies, which prioritize an understanding of interconnectivity over isolation. An ecological approach understands public rhetorics and rhetoric's publicness as "a circulating ecology of effects, enactments, and events by shifting the lines of focus from *rhetorical situation* to *rhetorical ecologies*."[90] Edbauer proposes that we are connected, that we are "never outside the networked interconnection of forces, energies, rhetorics,

---

[85] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010): ix.
[86] Bennett, *Vibrant Matter,* 104.
[87] Marnie Ritchie, "Rhetoric and Critical Affect Theory," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*, (Oxford University Press, 2021).
[88] Ritchie, "Rhetoric and Critical Affect Theory."
[89] Ritchie, "Rhetoric and Critical Affect Theory."
[90] Jenny Edbauer, "Unframing Models of Public Distribution: From Rhetorical Situation to Rhetorical Ecologies," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (September 2005): 9.

moods, and experiences."[91] To underscore this point, Edbauer calls upon viruses, explaining that "a rhetoric emerges already infected by the viral intensities that are circulating in the social field."[92] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, relating matsutake mushrooms to human encounters, similarly suggests that "we are contaminated by our encounters; they change who we are as we make away for others."[93] Tsing explicitly states that everyone "carries a history of contamination," and that "purity is not an option."[94] In reading Edbauer and Tsing's together as perspectives on relationality, we are alerted to an alternate framework beyond the separation of difference constructed by colonial discourse. Tsing argues that staying alive for every species requires "livable collaborations."[95] The capitalist economy assumes self-containment, which prevents individuals from being transformed by an encounter.[96] However, this self-containment is merely a fantasy. Tsing explains that in order to survive, "we need help, and help is always the service of another, with or without intent."[97] Further, because survival always involves others, we can conclude that "the important stuff for life on earth happens in those transformations, not in the decisions of self-contained individuals."[98] Tsing thus defines collaboration as "work across difference."[99] There is a "transformative mutualism" within this collaborative process.[100] I underscore Tsing's notion that collaborations contaminate all parties involved. More specifically, I suggest that such

[91] Edbauer, "Unframing Models of Public Distribution," 10.
[92] Edbauer, "Unframing Models of Public Distribution," 14.
[93] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins* (Princeton Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021), 27.
[94] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 27.
[95] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 28.
[96] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 28.
[97] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 29.
[98] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 29.
[99] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 29.
[100] Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World,* 40.

contaminations disrupt one directional flows of power and thus unsettle ideas of the self and Other.

I understand transcolonial intimacies as a relationship grounded in mutual recognitions of humanity, which brings the Other *into* the self. Sonya E. Pritzker and Sabina Perrino discuss the connections between intimacy, directionality, and distance, as "people move towards, or away from, certain culturally situated ideas and beliefs."[101] But Pritzker and Perrino also highlight how such ideas can "get *inside* of people in ways that impact their moment-to-moment experience and produce not just a socially situated self who is governed by abstract concepts, but an embodied, affective self that is grounded by and created in conversation with such concepts."[102] I am inspired by their discussion of how ideas can be made most intimate, by being brought inside themselves in ways that unsettle and even alter their sense of self. These affective orientations enable mutual recognitions of humanity across colonial borders. Emmanuel Levinas has advanced the face-to-face relation, which recognizes a "responsibility for the Other."[103] Levinas explains, "we will say that since the Other looks at me, I am responsible for him, without even having *taken* on responsibilities in his regard; his responsibility *is incumbent upon me.*"[104] Levinas understands the Other as close to oneself, not in physical proximity or familial ties but "[the Other] approaches me essentially insofar as I feel myself—insofar as I am—responsible for him."[105] Thus, in a way, the moment that

[101] Sonya E. Pritzker and Sabina Perrino, "Culture Inside: Scale, Intimacy, and Chronotopic Stance in Situated Narratives," *Language in Society* 50, no. 3 (June 2021): 368.
[102] Pritzker and Perrino, "Culture Inside," 368.
[103] Emmanuel Lévinas and Philippe Nemo, *Ethics and Infinity* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1985), 85.
[104] Lévinas and Nemo, *Ethics and Infinity,* 95.
[105] Lévinas and Nemo, *Ethics and Infinity,* 96.

one sees the Other as a human subject, one gains self-consciousness.[106] Judith Butler reads Levinas' description of the "ethical demand made by the Other" as a "vocalization of agony that is not yet language or no longer language, the one by which we are wakened to the precariousness of the Other's life, the one that rouses at once the temptation to murder and the interdiction against it."[107] I interpret the feeling Butler describes as an affective one. Chaput's model of rhetorical circulation underscores this interpretation, recognizing that the fixity of identities can be softened through positive affects that enable individuals to see the world through multiply situated perspectives.[108] Finally, Fanon states, "the human being ceases to be a phenomenon from the moment that he or she encounters the other's face. For the other reveals to me myself."[109] These affective encounters create opportunities to humanize the Other and to be humanized; the rigid categories of identity and relationality are thus rendered intimate.

Reimagining More Livable Worlds

Finally, I emphasize the constructive potential of transcolonial intimacies, to collaboratively reimagine alternate ways of living. I draw from Chávez's concept of the "coalitional moment."[110] Chávez explains that etymologically, the word "coalition" indicates the process of "growing together."[111] Although coalitions have offered a meaningful framework for scholars, Chávez's approach differs by recognizing coalition

---

[106] Lévinas and Nemo, *Ethics and Infinity,* 100-101.
[107] Judith Butler, "Precarious Life, Vulnerability, and the Ethics of Cohabitation," *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 26, no. 2 (April 1, 2012): 140.
[108] Chaput, "Rhetorical Circulation in Late Capitalism," 21.
[109] Frantz Fanon, *Alienation and Freedom*, ed. Jean Khalfa and Robert J.C. Young, trans. Haakon Chevalier (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 219.
[110] Karma R. Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities*, Feminist Media Studies Series (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 8.
[111] Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics,* 7.

not as "an avowed relationship" but instead, as "a space of convening that points toward coalitional possibility."[112] More specifically, Chávez advances the analytic of the coalitional moment, which occurs when "political issues coincide or merge in the public sphere in ways that create space to reenvision and potentially reconstruct rhetorical imaginaries."[113] Further, Chávez recognizes "moment" having temporal and spatial qualities, which reinforces the notion of coming together or connecting for the possibility of change.[114] The analysis of coalitional moments, then, provides the "opportunity to witness activists' creative rhetorical crafting, which sometimes points in the directions of inclusions and utopia but also shows how activists inventively draw resources toward building alternative rhetorical imaginaries and possibilities for livable lives."[115] I particularly emphasize Chávez's recognition of coalitional moments as being concerned with rhetorical imaginaries. Transcolonial intimacies similarly emphasize coming together—even fleetingly—to reimagine existing conditions of life, to pursue radical possibilities for change.

Through these reimaginations, I suggest transcolonial intimacies contribute toward the same *telos* as world making, but on a separate scale.[116] Transcolonial

---

[112] Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics,* 8.
[113] Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics,* 8.
[114] Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics,* 9.
[115] Chávez, *Queer Migration Politics,* 9.
[116] I draw from scholars such as Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner who describe world-making in "Sex in Public" as they recognize how queer culture forms as a counter to redistribute power through everyday experiences (1998). I am also understanding world-making through the efforts of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, as described by Adom Getachew in *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (2019) and Darrian Carroll in *A Black Nationalist World: The Rhetoric of Leaders of the Universal Negro Improvement Association From 1914 to 1925* (2022). While I perceive the transcolonial Intimacies within my case studies as reimagining alternate ways of living, I do not necessarily equate this practice with one of world-making. Thus, I recognize transcolonial Intimacies to be contributing toward the same telos as world-making, but to be operating on a separate scale. What is being made is not new worlds, but rather, new ways of connecting which perhaps guide us towards envisioning new worlds.

intimacies are the coalitional moments in which people come together across multiple vectors of coloniality, coming together to seek alternate rhetorical imaginaries. As the rhetorical critic, I am invested in engaging these transcolonial intimacies as reflections of alternate realities. The transcolonial intimacies I examine are not always successful in conventional terms, but they carry impact. I turn to Robin D. G. Kelley, who notes that "too often our standards for evaluating social movements pivot around whether or not they 'succeeded' in realizing their vision rather than on the merits of the power of the vision themselves."[117] Whether a radical movement changed power relations is less important than the "alternative visions and dreams that inspire new generations to continue to struggle for change."[118] In this vein, the transcolonial intimacies that I engage are not directly related to organized movements. This project is less concerned with large-scale social change, and rather, focused on the interpersonal affective encounters fostering mutual recognitions of humanity. I am also invested in the capacity for transcolonial intimacies to reverberate. The relationships forged between the Japanese people and Americans involved in the Occupation exist within a lineage of solidarities which extend in both directions: past and future. Therefore, although these transcolonial intimacies may not have constructed new worlds, or may not have even attempted to do so, these ideas continue to echo across time and space. Coloniality moves across such dual axes, but transcolonial intimacies illustrate that resistance does too. The following section thus examines methods for studying transcolonial intimacies through the metaphor of reverberations.

---

[117] Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2002), ix.
[118] Kelley, *Freedom Dreams,* ix.

Methods for Studying Transcolonial Intimacies

In this project, I study transcolonial intimacies as they reverberate across time and space. To do so, I complicate the earthquake metaphor mentioned earlier in this chapter, which engaged the convergent boundary between two tectonic plates. While I noted that the seismic waves represent multiple vectors of coloniality, I now nuance this statement. Specifically, there are two types of seismic waves: body waves and surface waves.[119] Body waves travel within the body of the earth; surface waves follow body waves, traveling along earth's surface.[120] I propose that body waves symbolize the multiple vectors of coloniality, particularly as the primary waves move in the direction of travel and the secondary waves shake the ground in a motion that is perpendicular to the direction of travel.[121] This movement across horizontal and vertical vectors represent the myriad directions of coloniality which occur when empires collide. However, this section on methods is more concerned with the surface waves, which are understood to be "slower-moving than body waves but are much larger and therefore more destructive."[122] I interpret surface waves to be representative of transcolonial intimacies, which are fostered across the dispersant flows of coloniality. I thus turn to examine how transcolonial intimacies can be studied.

I begin by clarifying my use of the term reverberation. I draw from Joan Wallach Scott, who theorizes reverberations as a metaphor of "seismic shock waves moving out

---

[119] "Discern between Body and Surface Waves, Primary and Secondary Waves, and Love and Rayleigh Waves," *Encyclopædia Britannica* video, 2:33, https://www.britannica.com/video/181934/rock-vibrations-Earth-earthquake-waves-P-surface.
[120] "Discern between Body and Surface Waves, Primary and Secondary Waves, and Love and Rayleigh Waves."
[121] "Discern between Body and Surface Waves, Primary and Secondary Waves, and Love and Rayleigh Waves."
[122] *Discern between Body and Surface Waves, Primary and Secondary Waves, and Love and Rayleigh Waves*.

from dispersed epicenters, leaving shifted geological formations in their wake."[123] The term reverberation carries "cause of infinite regression—reverberations are re-echoes, successions of echoes" and "of effect—reverberations are also repercussions."[124] Thus, reverberations are a method of visually tracing the virality and contamination, advanced by Edbauer and Tsing respectively, across time and space. More specifically, the viral economies and the histories of contamination are not isolated or segmented events. Just as allergy symptoms might fluctuate in different seasons throughout one's lifetime, reverberations shift through acts of repetition.[125] In this case, repetition does not simply refer to replicating carbon copies. In fact, repetition is understood as creating new difference in each iteration.[126] The study of reverberations is like the use of a seismograph, a tool which records the seismic waves moving in all directions.[127] Thus, studying reverberations is one way of exploring the way transcolonial intimacies are manifested across time and space.

I find the study of reverberations to be inextricable from critical methods of doing rhetorical history. This project is particularly invested in the "rhetorical studies of historical events," one of the senses of rhetorical history proposed by David Zarefsky.[128] I begin my exploration of Occupied Japan with the same subject matter as any other historian but am distinguished by my perspective.[129] The rhetorical orientation I bring empowers me to "see significant aspects about those events that other perspectives can

[123] Scott, "Feminist Reverberations," 11.
[124] Scott, "Feminist Reverberations," 11.
[125] Scott, "Feminist Reverberations," 11.
[126] Scott, "Feminist Reverberations," 11.
[127] *Discern between Body and Surface Waves, Primary and Secondary Waves, and Love and Rayleigh Waves*.
[128] David Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (University of Alabama Press, 1998), 30.
[129] Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," 30.

miss."[130] This is what I find myself doing, as I bring a rhetorical perspective and apply a transcolonial framework into an already saturated field of study on Occupied Japan. Furthermore, my venture into Occupied Japan is guided by an effort to "keep [my] eyes fixed on the mask."[131] Here, I am referring to Johnson's argument that history tends to "take a familiar person, object, or event and to peel away the layers of marvel in order to reveal the true story concealed beneath."[132] However, rhetorical history is not so much concerned with the truth but rather with "a thick knot of meanings emerging from a snarl of cultural contexts;" the task of the rhetorical historian is therefore not to unmask but to untangle.[133] The following sections outline how I engage this untangling: Where will I locate transcolonial intimacies scattered across time and space? Which archives and texts will I place in conversation to find them? And finally, what hidden narratives and experiences will I illuminate?

Tracing Texts

Definitions of text have historically been contested throughout the history of rhetorical studies and this project seeks to extend such discussions. Texts or rhetorical discourses have traditionally been understood as oral and written forms of expression.[134] Yet must all texts be related to persuasion? Lechuga argues that such an orientation is geared toward preserving rhetorical purity, a status which "excludes the voices of those historically not allowed to hold power."[135] Kent Ono and John Sloop, who advocate for

---

[130] Zarefsky, "Four Senses of Rhetorical History," 31.
[131] Johnson, "Introduction: Marvelous History."
[132] Johnson, "Introduction: Marvelous History," 11.
[133] Johnson, "Introduction: Marvelous History," 11.
[134] Sara L. McKinnon et al., eds., *Text + Field: Innovations in Rhetorical Method* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).
[135] Murphy and Lechuga, "The Role of the Rhetorical Critic," 65.

the study of vernacular discourse, also push back against traditional definitions of discourse. They understand discourse as "speech that resonates with local communities" which includes culture and its various manifestations (music, art, criticism, dance, architecture).[136] The attention to vernacular discourses—to the discourses excluded from colonial epistemological definitions—gives voice to historically oppressed communities whose rhetorical practices are not included within current frameworks.[137] I recognize the ways in which definitions of text have shifted as scholars grapple with critical rhetoric. As rhetorical scholars critique structures of power, including colonial epistemologies, they are forced to reckon with the limitations of definitions proposed by scholars who were more concerned with establishing the discipline than caring for the material practices that would be excluded.

Critical rhetoricians have also worked to deconstruct notions of a complete text. I refer to the scholarship of Michael Calvin McGee who argued that discourse "ceases to be whenever parts of it are taken 'out of context.'"[138] McGee claims that the fragmentation of American culture has led to making "finished discourse anticipated in consequence of an essentially homogeneous culture" virtually impossible.[139] The role of the rhetorical critic is thus to construct a text from fragments.[140] While McGee situates fragmentation as a new phenomenon, Darrel Wanzer-Serrano critiques this privileged assumption. Wanzer-Serrano resists McGee's reproduction of colonial epistemologies by calling for rhetoricians to "begin *hearing* those voices excluded from our theorizing

[136] Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, "The Critique of Vernacular Discourse," *Communication Monographs* 62, no. 1 (March 1995): 20.
[137] Ono and Sloop, "The Critique of Vernacular Discourse," 21.
[138] Michael Calvin McGee, "Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54, no. 3 (1990): 283.
[139] McGee, "Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture," 287.
[140] McGee, "Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture," 274.

and the discourse communities[141] we study, *internalizing* their thought, and *seeking* ways to delink from modern/coloniality."[142] Wanzer-Serrano consequently argues that McGee has not engaged with rhetoric from a critical perspective, as such an approach would avoid framing fragmentation as a "major historical break."[143] Fragmentation is only a new phenomenon for a "first-world subject who occupies a privileged position within the modern/colonial world system," because for the colonized and post-colonial subject, fragmentation is an everyday practice.[144] Thus, examining fragments as texts must include reflexive engagement with the power structures that have shaped their contexts. Specifically, Wanzer-Serrano posits an ethic of "decolonial love," which "requires those who benefit most from the epistemic violence" to "engage in forms of praxis that can more productively negotiate the borderlands between inside and outside, in thought and being."[145] Hanchey discusses decolonial love as moving beyond simply "recognizing fractured essences," to "using them as tools that can witness our current affective relations and reconstitute our subjectivities as part of relations that are new and more just."[146] The critical study of fragments must be done with intention, particularly with an effort to unsettle power and pursue equity. r

Transcolonial intimacies are traditionally illegible, obfuscated by the textures of colonial power. In order to reveal these relationships, I intentionally piece transnational,

---

[141] Ono, "Contextual Fields."
[142] Darrel Allan Wanzer, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 15, no. 4 (2012): 654.
[143] Wanzer-Serrano, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," 647.
[144] Wanzer-Serrano, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," 651.
[145] Wanzer, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," 654.
[146] Hanchey, "Toward a Relational Politics of Representation," 276.

fragmented texts and artifacts together. "Tracing" is a useful term to describe this method, as the act of tracing seeks to connect reverberating fragments across temporal and spatial borders. Furthermore, tracing should consider scale, which I understand as the examination of complex interactions at the regional, national, and global levels that intersect to produce a series of reverberations.[147] Tracing zooms in and out simultaneously to consider big picture questions alongside fine-grained ones.[148] Debra Hawhee and Christa J. Olson encourage such scholarship that cuts across time and space, while warning against "slipping from wide-angle views of indeterminacy to totalizing narratives."[149] In fact, the process of keeping track of the different artifacts populating our "slices of time" and "carefully tracing the sorts of arguments that can be made using these artifacts" is what will keep us "grounded and humble."[150] Scalarly tracing the fragmented reverberations of coloniality requires being reflexive and selective. Selecting which fragments to trace, which fragments to connect, and which fragments to share with the world must be the intentional choice of the rhetorical critic.

Archives

Earlier pages of this document have argued that rhetorical studies must reorient itself away from colonial epistemologies and toward anticolonial relationalities. While I have outlined the method of tracing colonial reverberations in broad strokes, I now seek to further develop this process as it applies to archival research. First, I situate archives

---

[147] Srila Roy, "Transnational Feminism and the Politics of Scale: The 2012 Antirape Protests in Delhi." *Transnational Feminist Itineraries: Situating Theory and Activist Practice,* ed. Ashwini Tambe and Millie Thayer, 2021.
[148] Debra Hawhee and Christa J. Olson, "Pan-Historiography: The Challenges of Writing History Across Time and Space," in *Theorizing Histories of Rhetoric,* ed. Michelle Ballif (2013).
[149] Hawhee and Olson, "Pan-Historiography," 96.
[150] Hawhee and Olson, "Pan-Historiography," 101.

within structures of colonial epistemologies. Second, I explain how the construction of transnational archives break cycles of disciplinary complicity to circulate colonial discourse. Finally, I discuss how to the fragmented texts we choose to weave together ultimately reveal transcolonial intimacies that have been scattered across temporal and spatial boundaries.

Archives are an integral part of producing and reproducing colonial epistemologies. Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook have called for an understanding of archives as "social constructs," particularly as their origins lie within the "information needs and social values of the rulers, governments, businesses, associations, and individuals who establish and maintain them."[151] Archives are infused with power, as their records wield power over the "shape and direction of historical scholarship, collective memory, and national identity, and how we know ourselves as individuals, groups, and societies."[152] Archives are about what documents fulfill the pre-determined criteria of "archivability," and are thus a series of judgments about what documents and items are "worthy of preserving and keeping in a public place."[153] Furthermore, Achille Mbembe has urged critical interrogations of the architectural dimension of archives.[154] These architectural dimensions encompass a physical space (the site of the building), a religious space (a set of rituals are constantly taking place), and a cemetery (fragments of lives and pieces of time are interred there).[155] As such, archivists wield power over the building and over the materials are responsible for "active management of records

[151] Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (March 2002): 3.
[152] Schwartz and Cooke, "Archives, Records, and Power," 2.
[153] Achille Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton et al. (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2002), 20.
[154] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits."
[155] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," 19.

before they come to the archives, their appraisal and selection as archives, and afterwards their constantly evolving description, preservation, and more."[156] Put differently, archives are not representative of objective truth (if we can even consider such a thing to exist). The process of constructing archives, and the decisions made by the archivists themselves, are intentional acts infused with power.

While we must understand how archives have always been about power and thus can be a tool of hegemony, we should also acknowledge that they can be a tool of resistance.[157] Schwartz and Cooke thus call for archivists to "(re)search thoroughly for the missing voices, for the complexity of the human or organizational functional activities under study during appraisal, description, or outreach activities, so that archives can acquire and reflect multiple voices."[158] L'ael Hughes-Watkins also urges archivists to build reparative archives, to engage processes of acquisition, advocacy, and utilization to "assist in decolonizing traditional archives and bringing historically oppressed voices in from the margins."[159] It is worth noting that the diversification of analog and digital records are also critical to "the process of healing the relationship between traditional archives and historically underrepresented communities."[160] But digital records certainly have their own tensions to navigate. K.J. Rawson describes the ethical complexities involved within the process of archival description and explores how these quandaries remain prevalent within the writing of metadata when digitizing

[156] Schwartz and Cooke, "Archives, Records, and Power," 2.
[157] Schwartz and Cooke, "Archives, Records, and Power," 13.
[158] Schwartz and Cooke, "Archives, Records, and Power," 17.
[159] Lae'l Hughes-Watkins, "Moving Toward a Reparative Archive: A Roadmap for a Holistic Approach to Disrupting Homogenous Histories in Academic Repositories and Creating Inclusive Spaces for Marginalized Voices," *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies* 5, no. 6 (2018), 3.
[160] Hughes-Watkins, "Moving Toward a Reparative Archive," 8.

archival materials.[161] Archivists have thus theorized and applied strategies to resist colonial epistemologies embedded within the archives, navigating different models such as participatory archives[162] and digitalization in the process.[163]

While archivists have sought to break from being complicit in circulating colonial discourse, rhetorical scholars can also contribute to this effort. Mbembe illuminates one such possibility within the manipulation of archives.[164] More specifically, Mbembe argues that manipulation lies within the process of "following tracks, putting back together scraps and debris, and reassembling remains."[165] Therefore, if we consider using archives for resistance, we can similarly produce counter-histories by "putting back together scraps and debris" to reassemble the remains and resuscitate the dead back to the realm of the living.[166] The implications of haunting are present within this model of manipulating the archives, and opens opportunities to reckon with alternate histories. Put differently, a conceptualization of the archives as a tool for resistance brings the relationality between ghost and haunted to the foreground. The haunted manipulates archival materials to make sense of the untethered fragments affecting them. This archival manipulation is one way I suggest we trace reverberations and transcolonial intimacies within a globalized world.

Saidiya V. Hartman also conceptualizes a similar method of "foraging and disfiguration."[167] Hartman describes foraging and disfiguration as "raiding for fragments

---

[161] K. J. Rawson, "The Rhetorical Power of Archival Description: Classifying Images of Gender Transgression," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (August 8, 2018): 327–51.
[162] Hughes-Watkins, "Moving Toward a Reparative Archive."
[163] Rawson, "The Rhetorical Power of Archival Description."
[164] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," 25.
[165] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," 25.
[166] Mbembe, "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits," 25.
[167] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*, Race and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 12.

upon which other narratives can be spun and misshaping and deforming the testimony through selective quotation and the amplification of issues germane to this study.[168] Hartman uses this method to intervene within racial subjugation during slavery and its aftermath, examining "scenes of subjection" to illuminate practices of everyday life and resistance, arguing that "the barbarism of slavery did not express itself singularly in the constitution of the slave as object but also in the forms of subjectivity and circumscribed humanity imputed to the enslaved."[169] The texts which exist within this violent archive of primarily white voices can be read "against the grain" in order to engage with a different account of the present. I recognize synergy across Mbembe and Hartman's processes for engaging with archival materials to develop alternate narratives. And while I am drawn to the acts of Mbembe's "putting back together scraps and debris" and Hartman's "foraging and disfiguration," I am conscious of the need to reflexively engage with my own positionalities.

Engaging another—whether it be through interviews or rhetorical discourse or archives—compels us to reflexively consider our existing thoughts and biases. Annette Markham argues that our theories about how the world works are "bounded by invisible frames, built not only from our disciplinary training but also from our position."[170] This is why researchers must reflexively engage with their positionalities, because our terministic screens work alongside colonial epistemologies to obfuscate certain perspectives. Markham also suggests reflexivity as a method of "gaining greater

---

[168] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 12.
[169] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection,* 6.
[170] Annette N. Markham, "How Can Qualitative Researchers Produce Work That Is Meaningful Across Time, Space, and Culture?," in *Internet Inquiry: Conversations About Method*, by Annette Markham and Nancy Baym (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), 133.

sensitivity to one's own location, and of establishing a sense of rigor in one's research."[171] Furthermore, introspective reflexivity enables the rhetorical critic to hold themselves accountable as part of the research.[172] Such theorizations of accountability force rhetoricians to ethically engage their subject(s) of study, and to consider themselves as active participants within their scholarship.[173]

Speculations

In responding to these calls for reflexivity, and as I trace transcolonial intimacies, I shift between different readings of the archival grain. Within this process, I consider the transcolonial interventions I hope to make alongside my positionality as a Japanese scholar who benefits economically from her country's legacy of imperialism, who benefits academically from her American education, and who benefits socially from her linguistic capacity to sound American. There are many other overlapping screens of power which prevent me from understanding the colonial narratives. My lived experiences bleed into my understanding and experiencing of these hidden truths. Because I cannot intimately understand the grand narratives of colonialism, no matter how many times they have been told, I embrace a "less assured and perhaps more humble stance" to "explore the grain with care and read along it first."[174] This is the approach I take to tracing transcolonial reverberations. Put differently, I untangle these reverberations by accounting for myself throughout this process.

---

[171] Markham, "How Can Qualitative Researchers Produce Work that Is Meaningful Across Time, Space, and Culture?," 140.
[172] Carly S. Woods, "(Im)Mobile Metaphors: Toward an Intersectional Rhetorical History," in *Standing in the Intersection: Feminist Voices, Feminist Practices in Communication Studies*, ed. Karma R. Chávez and Cindy L. Griffin (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012), 78–96.
[173] Woods, "(Im)mobile Metaphors."
[174] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009: 50.

Furthermore, I also engage in practices of speculation to disrupt impulses for truth-seeking. Rhetorical history has traditionally been complicit in the colonialism of knowledge production.[175] Although the discipline is certainly shifting to be more critical of the methods and concepts that structure scholarship in rhetorical studies, it is "only just beginning to address large-scale questions about the status and foundations of disciplinary knowledge in a global context."[176] Matthew deTar argues that if rhetorical scholars are truly interested in the problems of "method, theory, concepts, canon, tradition, and historical writing," then it is imperative to "avoid making these problems into questions addressed 'to history' and rather to attach these problems to 'the question of history' in rhetorical history."[177] I answer this call by enacting Hartman's concept of speculation in my own work interrogating transcolonial intimacies within Occupied Japan.

Hartman's book *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments* examines "the revolution of Black intimate life that unfolded in Philadelphia and New York at the beginning of the twentieth century."[178] Hartman enacts a "speculative history of the wayward" to narrate the lives, and resistances, of young women in "the emergent ghetto, a form of racial enclosure that succeeded the plantation."[179] Such measures are necessary because of "the power and authority of the archive and the limits it sets on what can be known, whose perspective matters, and who is endowed with the gravity and authority of

---

[175] Matthew deTar, "Decolonizing Rhetorical History," in *Reframing Rhetorical History: Cases, Theories, and Methodologies*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner and Jason Edward Black, Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2022), 192–211.
[176] deTar, "Decolonizing Rhetorical History," 192.
[177] deTar, "Decolonizing Rhetorical History," 196.
[178] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2020).
[179] Saidiya Hartman, "The Anarchy of Colored Girls Assembled in a Riotous Manner," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 117, no. 3 (July 2018): 470.

historical actor."[180] The method observed in these woven narratives is "critical fabulation," which occurs when "state violence, surveillance, and detention produce the archival traces and institutional records that inform the reconstruction of these lives; but the desire and the want of something better decide the contours of the telling."[181] This is close narration, which "places the voice of narrator and character in inseparable relation" so that the story is told from the subject of history.[182] In practicing such method, Hartman offers a "counter-narrative" that is liberated from "the judgment and classification" that young Black women were subjected to at the time, and continue to be subjected to through the archives.[183] This is not an extensive attempt at critical fabulation, although the prospect of such a project is exciting. However, I do weave in moments of speculation amongst my reading and reckoning with archival materials. I rely on what I have been able to find across different archives, as well as my own personal understanding of national and cultural histories, to wonder and imagine where the archives cannot reach.

Rhetorical critics construct project-based archives whenever we conduct research.[184] In this sense, all rhetorical critics must grapple with judgments embedded within the archive. What sources do we choose to cite? Do we engage a "politics of recognition" and cite the canon, or do we resist? There are countless questions which we ask ourselves, and our answers guide the materials that we use in our work. In trying to understand coalitional moments enabled by transcolonial intimacies, I am particularly

---

[180] Hartman, *Wayward Lives,* xiii.
[181] Hartman, "The Anarchy of Colored Girls Assembled in a Riotous Manner," 470.
[182] Hartman, *Wayward Lives,* xiii-xiv.
[183] Hartman, *Wayward Lives,* xiv.
[184] Angela G. Ray, "Rhetoric and the Archive," *Review of Communication* 16, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 43–59, https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2016.1183877.

interested in engaging artifacts within transnational archives, or collections that offer insight into the movement of people, goods, or ideas across national borders. An exemplar of this type of archive is the Gordon W. Prange Collection housed at the University of Maryland, one of the most comprehensive collections in the world of Japanese print publications issued during the early years of the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1949. This project analyzes books, photographs, magazines, newspapers, and posters subjected to censorship by the allied forces and brought from Japan to the University of Maryland to explore transcolonial intimacies across Japanese and US empires. I piece together and put into conversation a variety of fragments across US and Japanese archives, which illustrate the reverberations of transcolonial intimacies through Occupied Japan. I discuss the specific archives and archival collections I use within each chapter, as I detail my reflexive orientations toward these gathered artifacts.

Finally, I understand myself as tracing transcolonial intimacies through untethered fragments. One may disagree, arguing that these fragments must be tethered because they are stored within brick-and-mortar collections which are rich in history, power, and processes of judgment. Yet, I consider the act of tracing these fragments across archives and reassembling them as a process of "untethering," bringing artifacts in conversation with one another to reveal previously obfuscated narratives and relationalities. I practice untethering in each chapter, as I discuss my efforts to trace and speculate across archival materials. However, I am conscious of the need to first offer historical background, to explain what context I am operating within. The following section thus delves into a discussion of Occupied Japan.

Occupied Japan

My examination of transcolonial intimacies is focused on the specific context of Occupied Japan. As mentioned earlier, the Occupation occurred during a time characterized by the collision between Japanese and US empire, and the subsequent rupture of Japanese empire. US forces entered a defeated Japan, the victors triumphant over the vanquished, to enact an agenda of democratization and civilization. However, I resist framing the Occupation as conflict between American conquerors and Japanese victims. I hesitate to reinforce a problematic dimension of war memory, particularly one that nurtures a Japanese victimization narrative.[185] In other words, this project seeks to take Japanese imperialism and colonialism seriously. Therefore, I recognize that while this dissertation uses generalizing language such as "Japan" and "the Japanese people," the nation and the people themselves are not a monolith. For example, while the Ryukyu Islands/Okinawa has been incorporated as a formal prefecture and Ryukyuans/Okinawans are legally considered to be Japanese citizens, they were initially colonized by the Japanese empire. As such, Ryukyuan/Okinawan interpretations of the Occupation cannot be separated from their histories as an indigenous population who suffered militarized colonial violence under the Japanese empire.[186] There is irony in the way I claim to reckon with different vectors of coloniality between the Japanese and US empires, and yet, I fall short of engaging the complexities within the Japanese empire. I

[185] For a rich engagement with post-World War II cultural trauma, memory, and identity in Japan, see Akiko Hashimoto, *The Long Defeat: Cultural Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[186] Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, "Introduction: Militarized Currents, Decolonizing Futures," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xxii.

am thus compelled to address two points about scope, though I seek to continue opening myself to critique.

First, this exploration of history is rhetorical in nature. I return to Plato's allegorical cave to address my limitations. That is, I must restrict my scope to particular shadows on the wall. I do not attempt to engage all of the shadows, nor all of their interpretations. Put differently, it is beyond the scope of this project to provide a comprehensive historical treatment of the Occupation. Rather, I am specifically focused on providing a broad historical overview which offers the groundwork to each of the transcolonial intimacies explored within my case studies. Thus, I offer historical context on Japanese imperialism and colonialism, as well as the Occupation of Japan, but it is by no means a complete interrogation of the time.

Second, I specify that my discussion of Japanese people and their transcolonial intimacies is limited to those who identify as "former imperial subjects." I note this differentiation because each of my case studies delves, with varying degrees, into the processes of reckoning with imperial subjectivity and complicity with colonial power. After all, my understanding of transcolonial intimacies rests upon mutual recognitions of humanity across colonial difference and division. Therefore, when I broadly refer to transcolonial intimacies fostered between Japanese people and Americans involved in the Occupation, I mean the Japanese people who understand themselves as former imperial subjects and who wrestle with the rupture of this identity in the post-World War II period.

Imperial and Colonial Japan

Although this project focuses on Occupied Japan, I must first discuss the historical context of Japanese imperialism and colonialism which ultimately led to its rupture.[187] The inception of the Japanese empire is often dated to the acquisition of Taiwan at the end of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), but Michele Mason brings the date further back in time to 1869, when "the nascent Meiji state initiated its very first modern colonial operations by unilaterally extending its rule" over a region of Japan that is now known as Hokkaido.[188] Japan eventually became the "only major non-western colonial power in the twentieth century," gaining control over a "vast area of Asia and numerous archipelagos in the Pacific Ocean."[189] Japanese colonial rule thus lasted more than seven decades, from 1869-1945, and its political, economic, and cultural ramifications still reverberate today.[190] The dates of the Japanese empire are thus understood to begin with the Japan's move to colonize Hokkaido and to conclude with Japan's World War II surrender.

---

[187] Many scholars have written comprehensive historical works that explore Japanese empire. For more reading, I suggest the following scholars and publications: Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton University Press, 2020); Peter. Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*, Twentieth Century Japan 8 (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1999); Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Alexis Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power*, Pbk. ed (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); Sidney Xu Lu, *The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism: Malthusianism and Trans-Pacific Migration, 1868-1961*, Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds., *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

[188] Michele M. Mason, *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan: Envisioning the Periphery and the Modern Nation-State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012), 2.

[189] Michele Mason and Helen J. S. Lee, eds., *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 1.

[190] Mason and Lee, *Reading Colonial Japan,* 1.

Japan's motivations to compete with western imperial powers can be traced further back in time. Ako Inuzuka traces Japan's empire to the end of Japan's *sakoku* (national isolation) era. Before the Meiji era, which marked Japan's modernization period, Japan was governed by the Tokugawa Shogun (Edo Period: 1603-1868).[191] The nation engaged in isolationist practices, closing its borders for trading with all other countries except for China and the Netherlands.[192] However, in 1853, US Naval Commodore Perry arrived on Japanese shores and "threatened Japan with military action if Japan did not sign treaties that would allow trading with the West."[193] Japan was pushed into ratifying what they found to be disadvantageous treaties with the US, and later with Britain, France, Russia, and the Netherlands.[194] Japanese government officials believed that if Japan became a "strong, wealthy, westernized nation," that if they embraced westernization and militarization, then these unequal treaties would be revised.[195] When Japan emerged victorious against Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), they were able to abolish the unequal treaties.[196] But it soon became clear that Japan's imperialistic militaristic ambitions were no longer tied to the existence of those treaties, as the nation continued to invade other Asian countries. Japanese military officials used the rhetoric of "The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" to justify Japan's wartime invasions, claiming that "their war efforts would liberate Asian nations from Western colonial powers."[197] The Japanese logic was that once the war was over,

---

[191] Ako Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women: The Collective Memory of Sexual Slavery Under the Japanese Imperial Military* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2023), 3.
[192] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 3.
[193] Inuzuka*, Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 4.
[194] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 4.
[195] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 4.
[196] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 4.
[197] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 5.

Asian nations would "co-exist in co-prosperity under the Japanese empire's guidance."[198] Such propaganda was heavily promoted within Japan and within Japan's occupied areas, promoting the idea of "replacing western imperialism with their own."[199] Specifically, Japan attempted to "justify its expansionist policies in terms of anti-Western imperialism, expressing a conscious attempt to resist and overcome Euro-American colonialisms even as Japan imitated and learned from them."[200] The militarized elements of Japanese colonialism was evidenced in its "violent invasion of territories,"[201] and within the way that the Japanese empire stretched from stretched from "the Sakhalin Island north of the Japanese archipelago to the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific and expanded into Manchuria, areas of China, Korea, and much of Southeast Asia and Micronesia."[202] But upon their surrender, Japan was stripped of these colonial territories, and brought under the rule of US military occupation.

Occupation of Japan

The US military occupation of Japan differed from more traditional forms of oppression such as settler colonialism. David Edelstein offers a comprehensive overview of military occupation, noting that the primary objective is to "secure the interest of the occupying power and prevent the occupied territory from becoming a source of instability."[203] There are several factors that contribute to a successful occupation: First, the occupied population need to recognize the need for occupation. Second, there must be a perceived

---

[198] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 5.
[199] Inuzuka, *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women,* 5.
[200] Shigematsu and Camacho, "Introduction: Militarized Currents, Decolonizing Futures," xviii.
[201] Shigematsu and Camacho, "Introduction: Militarized Currents, Decolonizing Futures," xviii.
[202] Mason and Lee, *Reading Colonial Japan,* 1.
[203] David M. Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29, no. 1 (July 2004): 50.

common threat between the occupiers and the occupied. And third, the occupying power should make a credible guarantee that it will withdraw and return control to the indigenous government in a timely manner.[204] The US occupation of Japan cleared all of these requirements. The Japanese people were war-torn and desperate, recognizing the need for US occupation to help them rebuild. The Japanese and US governments mostly agreed on the Soviet Union as an impending threat. And the Occupation was always understood to have an end-date.[205] The existence of an end-date is what distinguished military occupation from annexation or colonialism.[206]

I note that there was no historical precedent for the kind of relationship between Japan and the US post-World War II.[207] John Dower explains that the occupation of Germany was not "truly comparable" to the occupation of Japan.[208] The responsibility for Germany's occupation was divided among the US, England, France, and the Soviet Union, while responsibility for Japan's occupation unilaterally belonged to the US.[209] The success of the US military occupation is often attributed to General Douglas MacArthur, who was given the title of the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP), and was thus the single most powerful man in Occupied Japan. As SCAP, MacArthur "exercised broad discretionary powers in implementing Occupation policy" and "often seemed a power unto himself."[210] However, it is worth noting that months before Japan surrendered, influential officials of both the Japanese and US governments

[204] Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards," 51.
[205] Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards," 51.
[206] Edelstein, "Occupational Hazards," 52.
[207] John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York, NY: Norton, 2000).
[208] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 23.
[209] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 23.
[210] Eiji Takemae, Robert Ricketts, and Sebastian Swann, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy* (New York: Continuum, 2002), xxviii.

had begun to consider what a postwar era might look like, to shape a new Asian-Pacific order.[211] Although the Occupation began soon after the Potsdam Declaration, the post-surrender policy had been planned for years.[212] MacArthur was thus tasked with disarming and demobilizing Japan's armed forces and establishing a representative government.[213] That being said, MacArthur could not singlehandedly run the Occupation. Thus, to facilitate the tasks of administering Japan, GHQ and SCAP established "a complement of special civil staff sections to oversee specific areas of government."[214] These non-military groups were created to duplicate the structures and functions of Japanese ministries and agencies, although they were modified based on need throughout the Occupation.[215] Although the competence and formal training of such personnel varied, the "civilian Occupationaires" were mostly civil servants, financiers, labor consultants, lawyers, and other professionals.[216] Most of these individuals were very well educated, and possessed administrative skills that were vital to the tasks of military government.[217] Reform in post-World War II Japan came to involve a "convoluted interplay between MacArthur (who followed an agenda developed in Washington) and the Japanese elites who maintained control of political and economic life throughout the Occupation."[218] This tension illustrates the need for a more complex framework beyond vertical vectors limited to colonizer and colonized. There were clearly more stakeholders at play within the Occupation, including but not

---

[211] Michael Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 4-5.
[212] Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan*, 24.
[213] Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan*, 24.
[214] Takemae, Ricketts, and Swann, *Inside GHQ*, xxviii.
[215] Takemae, Ricketts, and Swann, *Inside GHQ*, xxviii.
[216] Takemae, Ricketts, and Swann, *Inside GHQ*, xxviii.
[217] Takemae, Ricketts, and Swann, *Inside GHQ*, xxviii.
[218] Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan*, 29.

limited to the US government, MacArthur, US military personnel, US civilian personnel, Japanese government personnel, and the everyday Japanese people. A transcolonial approach offers a framework to engage these multiple vectors of power.

Conclusion and Chapter Overview

The Occupation of Japan is formed at the convergent boundary between tectonic plates from which seismic waves (body and surface) occur. This is a moment characterized by the multiple vectors of coloniality (body waves) following the collision between Japanese and US empires, and by the transcolonial intimacies (surface waves) which were forged across these convergent boundaries. Through this earthquake metaphor, this introductory chapter has offered the following: (1) the need for a relational approach to rhetorical studies, particularly to engage alternate realities and thus alternate relationships which have been obfuscated under colonial epistemologies; (2) my particular intervention of a transcolonial framework to examine transcolonial intimacies, which illustrate how people connect across difference; and (3) a limited historical overview of imperial and colonial Japan, as well as the Occupation of Japan.

Before I proceed to describe my case studies, I would like to offer some notes on language choices and ethical orientations within this project. First, any translations from Japanese primary and secondary sources are my own unless stated otherwise. Second, this dissertation draws from historical materials. I have made choices to directly quote primary, and some secondary, material in my project to tell the story that I need to tell. There are thus some quoted materials that use outdated, derogatory, and harmful language. However, when writing in my own voice, I seek to use inclusive language. Finally, despite its critical orientations, this dissertation does not seek to pass judgment

on any groups or individuals involved within transcolonial intimacies. I am inspired by Stoler's ethical sensibilities to foreground structural constructions of power. I refer to Stoler's words,

> The task is not to figure out who was colonizer and who was colonized, nor even to ask about what distinguished metropolitan and colonial policy; rather, it is to ask what political rationalities have made those distinctions and categories viable, enduring, and relevant measures to distribute rights and resources in the world.[219]

Stoler is thus less focused on passing personal individual judgment on the subjects of study, but rather, examining larger ebbs and flows of power that situate these actions or responses. I similarly ground my analysis of transcolonial intimacies to an attunement of structural power. In other words, none of my case studies are propelled by an impulse to cast blame on specific persons.

The following case studies, which pay attention to race, gender, and foodways in the historical context of the Occupation, will showcase analysis that illuminates transcolonial intimacies that transpired between Japanese people and American Occupationnaires. Each case engages two registers of intimacy. The first characterizes affective intimate encounters, creating opportunities for individuals to connect across colonial division. The second is transcolonial intimacies, which not only observes mutual recognitions of humanity, but also reimagines more livable worlds that challenge colonial power. Furthermore, each case study begins with a personal connection to the topic. These anecdotes are an overarching appeal to intimacy embedded within the writing itself, extending an invitation to the reader to sink into exploring these previously obfuscated slices of history.

---

[219] Stoler, *Duress*, 23.

Chapter 1 foregrounds Black American-Japanese solidarities as a transcolonial intimacies that reimagined transnational race relations. Specifically, this chapter examines how Black American men soldiers and Japanese women civilians came together during a time of anti-fraternization policies. Their relationships became catalysts that incited transcolonial intimacies between members of their respective communities. I situate these transcolonial intimacies within a rich legacy of attempted coalition-building between Black Americans and the Japanese from the early twentieth century. In particular, I draw upon W. E. B. Du Bois's conceptualization of the world color line and the Black internationalism movement, arguing that this historical context laid the groundwork the transcolonial intimacies observed within Occupied Japan.

Chapter 2 examines the adoption of menstruation leave in Occupied Japan. I reveal the transcolonial intimacies forged between American women and Japanese women who were involved in the advocacy and negotiation of menstruation leave policies. Despite the Occupation agenda which called for the top-down liberation of Japanese women, economist Mead Smith Karras reflexively worked alongside Japanese women to reimagine a world in which Japanese women have equal pay and equal job opportunities in the labor force. This chapter takes a two-pronged approach, partly applying rhetorics of containment to contextualize the expectations for menstruators within society, and partly examining how Karras told the story of menstruation leave within her documents. I highlight how, in the telling of the story, Karras brings herself in-focus and out-of-focus, illustrating a process of fostering transcolonial intimacies through self-reflexivity.

Chapter 3 centers foodways as a material channel through which transcolonial intimacies occurred. The late World War II period left Japanese people desperate for food, which led to their self-construction of illegal and unsanctioned foodways. The Occupation brought Americans into these wartime foodways, which led to increasing opportunities for both the Japanese and Americans to eat the Other. The processes of consuming foreign objects led to opportunities for indigestible reckoning and humanization of the Other, which both permanently altered Japanese foodways and advanced transcolonial intimacies between the Japanese people and the Americans who participated in Japanese foodways.

The conclusion seeks to tie this dissertation together. I reflect on the process of engaging these different case studies and underscore the ways in which each chapter offers an iteration of transcolonial intimacies. Furthermore, I flesh out contemporary reverberations which resonate with each theme: interracial solidarities, menstruation leave, and foodways. I gesture toward the possibilities for transcolonial intimacies within this current moment, highlighting how seismic waves continue to echo across time and space. When these chapters are all read together, I hope that this project conveys historical recovery and resistance, and ultimately, offers one possibility for working together across difference.

Chapter 1: Catalysts for Change: Black American-Japanese Solidarities

In 2016, I was part of a translation team (English to Japanese) for the *Letters for Black Lives* project. A group of Asian Americans had originally wrote "an intergenerational letter expressing their support for the Black Lives matter (BLM) movement."[1] This letter was written in English and circulated with "the hope that letters from co-racial messengers" could increase support for BLM within the Asian American community.[2] Although I am not Asian American, I saw the call for translators—*Letters for Black Lives* were looking to create multiple versions of the language in different letters, to increase accessibility. Japanese was one of the languages they were hoping to translate the original letter into, and I was one of the volunteers. I worked closely with the other volunteers, communicating through Slack and working through Google Documents to cultivate a Japanese translation that both captured the essence of the letter and also did not alienate its readers. To do so, we toyed with different phrases and teased out the use of formal language, engaging in a balancing act between attempts to signal closeness and maintain respect for our elders. At the time, I was excited to contribute to what I perceived as a groundbreaking and revolutionary initiative for interracial solidarity. Today, I remain honored to have been a part of this project but realize that this effort was only part of a much longer history of Black-Asian solidarity.

[1] Maneesh Arora and Christopher T. Stout, "Letters for Black Lives: Co-Ethnic Mobilization and Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement," *Political Research Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (June 2019): 389.
[2] Arora and Stout, "Letters for Black Lives," 389.

This chapter is concerned with Black-Asian solidarity in response to global white supremacy. Instead of attempting to provide a historical overview of the many social movements spanning the globe from the early twentieth century to the present, I focus on a specific moment: the Occupation of Japan. This is a period characterized by the collision of Japanese and US empires, saturated with different vectors of colonial power that emerge within the simultaneous rupture of Japanese empire and the assertion of US empire. I propose that these tensions are inextricable from race, and thus draw on the histories of transpacific Afro-Asian solidarities—specifically Black American-Japanese solidarities—to examine the construction and negotiation of racial hierarchies during this time. I am particularly invested in collaborative resistance against white supremacy and situate the relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women as my point of entry into such discussions. When I refer to Black American soldiers, I mean Black American men soldiers who served in Occupied Japan, and when I refer to Japanese women, I mean Japanese women civilians. Black American soldiers and Japanese women were some of the most vulnerable groups in their respective social institutions. By foregrounding their connections, I seek to illuminate the possibilities for relationality as anti-racist resistance. I am particularly concerned with viewing the relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women as a *catalyst* for transcolonial intimacies, inciting mutual recognitions of humanity across their communities that foster resistance against manifestations of global white supremacy.

I begin by offering a targeted overview of the historic attempts to cultivate Black American-Japanese solidarities in the early twentieth century, drawing on concepts such as the world color line and Black internationalism to contextualize such efforts. I then

examine race and racialization in Occupied Japan, paying attention to the ways in which two conflicting constructions of race were forced to co-exist. Finally, I examine two separate relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women. The first examines a relationship between Pepin, a Black American soldier, and an unnamed dancer from Yokohama, through the eyes of a Japanese laborer. The second centers a Black American soldier who was declared missing-in-action in Korea, and his widowed wife and two children. The widowed wife is hoping to cross national borders, and the color line, to join her mother-in-law in New York. Each of these relationships act as a catalyst from which threads of transcolonial intimacies are spun amongst other members of their respective communities.

The World Color Line and Black Internationalism

In order to understand Black American-Japanese solidarities cultivated during the Occupation, we must first look back to a concept that emerged in the early twentieth century: the 'color line.' W. E. B. Du Bois, often credited for the popularization of the color line metaphor, was a "prolific writer" and "tireless activist for social and racial justice."[3] Du Bois was a theorist particularly concerned with race, recognizing that "racial distinctions and racial constructs are supremely important crucially central to how human beings experience the world."[4] Since declaring that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line" in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1904), Du Bois explored the consequences of the color line in his work.[5] Du Bois used the color

[3] Phil Zuckerman, "Introduction," *The Social Theory of W.E.B. Du Bois*, ed. Phil Zuckerman (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2004), 2-3.
[4] Zuckerman, "Introduction," *The Social Theory of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 10.
[5] Zuckerman, "Introduction," *The Social Theory of W.E.B. Du Bois*, 47.

line to globally contextualize colonial racial hegemonies, and the metaphor was taken up in popular discourse as Black Americans sought to negotiate their position and identity within the US.[6] Nahum Dimitri Chandler explains that the color line was first mentioned in Du Bois's essay, "The Present Outlook for the Dark Races of Mankind" (1900). [7] Within this piece, Du Bois invites his audience to consider the color line "not simply as a national and personal question but rather in its larger world aspect in time and space." [8] In fact, Du Bois explicitly wrote, "the world problem of the twentieth century is the Problem of the Color line—the question of the relation of the advanced races of men who happen to be white to the great majority of the undeveloped or half developed nations of mankind who happen to be yellow, brown, or black."[9] The color line was thus a heuristic that connected Black American struggles to those within larger structures of "global modernity."[10] In other words, Du Bois used the color line to link the racial struggles of Black Americans with experiences of colonial oppression impacting groups beyond the US.

In framing the color line as a global phenomenon, Du Bois sought to underscore the inseparability of race and colonialism. He understood colonialism to be the "central

---

[6] Nahum Dimitri Chandler, "Introduction: Toward a New History of the Centuries: On The Early Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois," in *The Problem of the Color Line at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Essential Early Essays*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, ed. Nahum Dimitri Chandler (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 22.
[7] Chandler, "Introduction: Toward a New History of the Centuries: On The Early Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois," 22.
[8] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Present Outlook for the Dark Races of Mankind (1900)," in *The Problem of the Color Line at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Essential Early Essays*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, ed. Nahum Dimitri Chandler (Fordham University Press, 2014), 111.
[9] Du Bois, "The Present Outlook for the Dark Races of Mankind (1900)," 119.
[10] Chandler, "Introduction: Toward a New History of the Centuries: On The Early Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois," 14.

cultural and political event of his lifetime." [11] This was evident in his writings, particularly as he grappled with empire and settler colonialism and its influences on racial ethnic strife, militarization, and competing imperialisms.[12] In "The Color Line Belts the World" (1906), Du Bois dramatically revised the color line thesis by explicitly naming the "dawning" of US imperialism.[13] Du Bois argued that the "tendency of the great nations of the day is territorial, political, and economic expansion," and that this has brought them "in contact with darker peoples."[14] American participation in global imperial and colonial projects thus signaled the turn toward "world problems" of the color line.[15] In other words, the world color line emphasized shared experiences of oppression between Black Americans and other non-white groups. Du Bois was particularly concerned with fostering solidarities with Asia. Yuichiro Onishi explains that Black intellectuals such as Du Bois saw global anti-racist alliances as a consequence of imperial and colonial projects, which held the possibility to "[make] and [remake] the modern world and race within it."[16] These Black intellectuals recognized that racial categories had little to do with the color one's skin, and everything to do with Western pursuits of modernity. It was thus possible to imagine solidarity with other non-white groups based on shared struggle, regardless of skin color. In other words, because the

---

[11] Bill Mullen and Cathryn Watson, "Introduction: Crossing the World Color Line," *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line*, ed. Bill Mullen and Cathryn Watson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), xxi.
[12] Edlie Wong, "Black Lives Matter, W. E. B. Du Bois's World Color Line, and the Question of Relation," *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 136, no. 3 (May 2021): 467.
[13] Mullen and Watson, "Introduction," *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line,* 3.
[14] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Color Line Belts the World (1906)," in *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, Bill Mullen, and Cathryn Watson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005), 33.
[15] Du Bois, "The Color Line Belts the World (1906)," 33.
[16] Yuichiro Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in Twentieth-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa* (New York, NY: New York Univ. Press, 2014), 11.

color line belted the world, Black Americans could imagine shared oppressions with other non-white groups and work to collectively unsettle dominant racial rhetorics.

The world color line, and discourse which emerged from this metaphor, was part of the ongoing theorizations of Black internationalism. Brandon R. Byrd explains Black internationalism as "the political culture and intellectual practice forged in response to slavery, colonialism, and white imperialism. It is a historical and ongoing collective struggle against racial oppression rooted in global consciousness."[17] Furthermore, Michael West, William Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins situate Black internationalism as having "a single defining characteristic: struggle."[18] They describe struggle as "resistance to oppression by Black folk," and locate Black internationalism within the "conscious interconnection and interlocution of Black struggles across man-made and natural boundaries."[19] However, Keisha Blain and Tiffany Gill challenge this narrow focus. They foreground Black women's experiences to "[expand] the dynamics of internationalism beyond the narrow confines of political struggle."[20] An emphasis on political interventions have led to male-centric scholarship on Black internationalism.[21] Blain and Gill thus draw attention to the "varied ways that Black women have forged global connections and innovated strategic alliances through their consumption activities and economic pursuits, leisure and religious practices, as well as through performance

[17] Brandon R. Byrd, "Black Women's Internationalism from the Age of Revolutions to World War I," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (Oxford University Press, 2019).
[18] Michael O. West and William G. Martin, "Introduction: Contours of the Black International: From Toussaint to Tupac," in *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution*, ed. Michael O. West, William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1.
[19] West and Martin, "Introduction: Contours of the Black International: From Toussaint to Tupac," 1.
[20] Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," in *To Turn the Whole World over: Black Women and Internationalism*, ed. Keisha N. Blain, Tiffany M. Gill, and Michael O. West (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 4.
[21] Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 3.

and artistic expression."[22] As part of this effort, Blain and Gill trace Black internationalism to an essay by Afro-Martiniquean intellectual Jeanne "Jane" Nardal, titled "Internationalism noir" (Black internationalism).[23] They explain that Nardal's work was calling for the "cultural rise of Afro-Latin and 'Francophone New Negro' artists and writers across the globe."[24] Nardal believed that this new generation would study and expand discourse on "the history of the Black race."[25] Blain and Gill thus move away from a central focus on political struggle, and instead, open the door to exploring how global anti-racist consciousness may have manifested in different processes. I follow in their footsteps to imagine Black American-Japanese solidarities through the construction of intimacies.

Whether grounded in the political or otherwise, Black internationalism has conceptualized networked solidarities across the globe. During the Age of Revolution, the second half of the eighteenth century, Black people across the world began to coalesce around opposition to the "central fact of Black life on the west bank of the Atlantic: racial slavery."[26] And while resistance to slavery was not a novel idea, this was a period in which antislavery movements became interconnected across the globe.[27] These developing networks were grounded in the rise of a "significant and articulate free Black community on the North American mainland," which nurtured the idea of universal emancipation.[28] Such processes are reflected in what Paul Gilroy has termed "the Black Atlantic." Gilroy reimagines modernity by examining histories of the African

[22] Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 4.
[23] Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 2.
[24] Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 2.
[25] Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism," 2.
[26] West and Martin, "Introduction: Contours of the Black International: From Toussaint to Tupac," 5.
[27] West and Martin, "Introduction: Contours of the Black International: From Toussaint to Tupac," 5.
[28] West and Martin, "Introduction: Contours of the Black International: From Toussaint to Tupac," 5.

diaspora into the western hemisphere, taking "the Atlantic as one single complex unity of analysis" to "produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective."[29] Gilroy's work thus engages Black internationalism within the "circum-Atlantic regional frame bounded by Europe, Africa, and the Americas."[30] However, Etsuko Taketani recasts Black internationalism to account for the US development into a "bioceanic empire."[31] To do so, Taketani theorizes the Black Pacific, which is an imagined community constructed through "geographic imaginings of African American narratives" that "manufactured feelings of African Americans' connectedness to foreign (colored) nationals and colonial subjects in the Pacific Rim, especially Asia."[32] Taketani thus illuminates the flows of US imperialism and colonialism in Asia. Both Gilroy and Taketani account for forced and voluntary diasporas to ground Black internationalism as a critical global phenomenon, calling attention to the networked processes of antiracist movements. In contrast, this chapter examines a situational manifestation of Black internationalism, specifically interpersonal solidarities between Black Americans and the Japanese during Occupied Japan. Although my scope is different, I remain invested in the networked connections of anti-racist movements. In fact, I consider these local and global patterns of anti-racist solidarities to be especially important in Occupied Japan as I seek to better contextualize the transpiring solidarities and racial negotiations. The following section thus explores the development of Black American-Japanese

[29] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 8. print (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003), 15.
[30] Etsuko Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars*, Re-Mapping the Transnational : A Dartmouth Series in American Studies (Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2014), 11.
[31] Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative*, 12.
[32] Taketani, *The Black Pacific Narrative*, 12.

solidarities in the early twentieth century to illustrate the histories that position Black American-Japanese solidarities in Occupied Japan.

The Development and Deterioration of Anti-Racist Solidarities

In this section, I examine the histories of Black American-Japanese solidarities in the years prior to and during World War II. Rather than providing a comprehensive account of these relationships, I am interested in better understanding the complexities that brought these two groups together and drove them apart. I argue that Black American intellectuals sought to build coalitions with non-white groups beyond the US through mutual recognition of shared racial oppression. The metaphor of the world color line and principles of Black internationalism guided their orientations toward resisting white supremacy on a global scale. On the other hand, Japan seemed to reciprocate the desire to form anti-racist coalitions but was ultimately more concerned about finding equality with Western imperial powers. I suggest that these differing motivations led to the deterioration of Black American-Japanese solidarities during this time.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Black American intellectuals were drawn to Asia as an ally against global white supremacy. The Black press covered international events, which Black Americans began to observe and comment on.[33] It was during this time, between 1900 and 1904, that Black Americans began to take notice of a quickly modernizing Japan.[34] At first, the Japanese were viewed as the strange and ridiculous Other, and as a threat to the labor market.[35] However, Black American intellectuals were

[33] Marc S. Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895 - 1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 2.
[34] Reginald Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese: Solidarity or Sedition?* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 5.
[35] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, 5.

soon impressed by Japan's ability to catch-up to the Western world. [36] In fact, Black American leaders came to see Japanese strategies of self-help, group solidarity, and determined leadership as relevant for their own advancement.[37]

Furthermore, Black American interest in Japan spiked with the onset of the Russo-Japanese War fought between the Russian Empire and the Empire of Japan from February 8, 1904, to September 5, 1905, over rival imperial ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. At the time, Russia was culturally ambiguously coded.[38] White Americans saw the Russo-Japanese War as a battle between "two Oriental despotisms" and thus a conflict between two non-white powers.[39] However, Black American writers intentionally framed the Russo-Japanese conflict as a race war. An April 1904 issue of the *Voice of the Negro* described the conflict as "white giants of Muscovy and the brown pigmies [*sic*] of Dia Nippon have declared that on the gory fields of the Orient once for all, they will settle the traditional feud of their races."[40] Black American writers thus advanced an interpretation of the Russo-Japan War as fundamentally concerned with race, extending discussions of the color line and anti-racist resistance beyond US borders. I argue that the most significant element of this race war framing was how Black Americans came to see the Japanese as victims of shared racial struggle. The Japanese victory over Russia inspired Black Americans to perceive them as a leader in the global anti-racist movement, having proved that "white supremacy was dead, and color was no longer relevant in assessing people's worth."[41] In the wake of Japan's

---

[36] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, 5.
[37] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, 5.
[38] Colleen Lye, *America's Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 22.
[39] Lye, *America's Asia,* 22-23.
[40] "The Death Grapple at Shakhe River," *Voice of the Negro,* November 1904.
[41] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, 35.

triumph, Du Bois wrote, "the awakening of the yellow race is certain. That the awakening of the Brown and Black races will follow in time, no unprejudiced student of history can doubt."[42] Here, Du Bois not only recognizes Japan as experiencing shared oppression, but as a nation that has succeeded in a revolutionary upheaval of racial hegemonies. He urged Black Americans to be inspired by Japan and to follow suit.

The desire to cultivate anti-racist solidarity was reciprocated by Japan, though driven by self-interest. To illustrate this point, I look to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and the global anti-racist movement which took place there. Japan had won the Russo-Japan War and secured its status as an imperial power, though the nation still faced discrimination for being non-white. The status of Japan as a secondary imperial power was observed within Negotiations for the Treaty of Portsmouth, which formally ended the Russo-Japan War. These treaty negotiations were not done in Japan's favor, which the *Voice of the Negro* covered by noting, "a country whose victories had been so sweeping…should have been able to dictate better terms at Portsmouth."[43] Japan was conscious of how their race marked them as the lesser Other. Thus, the Japanese delegation at the Paris Peace Conference was motivated to seek equality with Western imperial powers by invoking the language of racial equality.[44]

At the same time, Black Americans were also seeking for the inclusion of a racial equality clause. President Woodrow Wilson had outlined war aims and the blueprint for a postwar world order in a document titled "Fourteen Points," but William Monroe Trotter called for the inclusion of a "Fifteenth Point," which would abolish race-based

[42] Du Bois, "The Color Line Belts the World (1906)," 43.
[43] "The Peace of Portsmouth," *Voice of the Negro*, October 1905.
[44] Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism*, 24.

policies in all nations.[45] In the days leading to the Paris Peace Conference, Madam C. J. Walker, an Black American entrepreneur, philanthropist, and political and social activist, was made aware that the Japanese peace delegation were in New York and "in the 'spirit of race internationalism'" sent a floral arrangement as a "token of friendship and brotherhood."[46] Walker also hosted a gathering at the Grand Waldorf-Astoria Hotel for a small league delegation, and S. Kuroiwa, a Japanese envoy, participated.[47] Kuroiwa promised to bring the race question to the Paris Peace Conference discussions.[48] Although Black American activists sought to collaborate with Japan as "the New Negro of the Pacific," Japan was less motivated by racial equality and more focused on gaining equal status with the Western imperial powers—discussions of a racial equality clause was simply a mean to an end.[49] The Japanese delegation did introduce the racial equality proposal, but after repeated negotiations and revisions, ultimately presented a version that simply endorsed "the principle of equality of nations and just treatment of their nationals."[50] The tenuous and frankly uneven Black American-Japanese coalition at the Paris Peace Conference was a sign of what was to come in the World War II years.

In the years leading up to World War II, Japan openly sympathized with the racism Black Americans faced in order to weaken the United States. Some pro-war Japanese intellectuals were utilitarian in their concern, believing that "such expressed sympathy would translate into pro-Japan sentiment" and would potentially benefit their

---

[45] Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism*, 22.
[46] A'Lelia Perry Bundles, *Self Made: Inspired by the Life of Madam C.J. Walker* (New York, NY: Scribner, 2020).
[47] Bundles, *Self Made*.
[48] Bundles, *Self Made*.
[49] Yuichiro Onishi, "The New Negro of the Pacific: How African Americans Forged Cross-Racial Solidarity with Japan, 1917-1922," *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 192.
[50] Onishi, "The New Negro of the Pacific: How African Americans Forged Cross-Racial Solidarity with Japan, 1917-1922," 195.

nation in the long-term.[51] However, it is worth noting that even the anti-war activists "expressed sympathy for the oppressed of North America," making the anti-racist cause a popular one across the ideological spectrum in Japan.[52] Thus, Japanese intellectuals situated the mistreatment of Black Americans under white rule as evidence that "the so-called colored races would overcome worldwide bias under Japanese leadership."[53] Others simply argued that lynching demonstrated the "cruelty of white people," finding connections between exclusionary immigration policies and the rise of anti-Black violence in the US.[54] As tensions between Japan and the US continued to mount within the 1930s, the Japanese courted Black Americans as an ally.[55] In their war propaganda, the Japanese broadened the question of race from being merely yellow versus white, embracing and replicating the rhetoric of Black internationalism.[56] Black American-Japanese solidarities thus continued after the Paris Peace Conference, although attempts at cultivating connection were mostly grounded in Japanese self-interest. While Black Americans sought to collectively overthrow global white supremacy, Japan was motivated by a desire to become equal to Western imperial powers.

As Japan's imperial aggression increased, Black American intellectuals began to question and critique their perceived ally. There was concern that if the Japanese were this ruthless with their "cousins" in China, then they would have "less regard for those further removed."[57] However, there were also Black Americans who remained unwilling

---

[51] Gerald Horne, *Facing the Rising Sun: African Americans, Japan, and the Rise of Afro-Asian Solidarity* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), 14.
[52] Horne, *Facing the Rising Sun*, 15.
[53] Horne, *Facing the Rising Sun*, 46.
[54] Horne, *Facing the Rising Sun*, 46.
[55] Horne, *Facing the Rising Sun.*
[56] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, xxviii.
[57] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, 58.

to regard the Japanese as their enemy.[58] The situation became even more complex when war broke out between Japan and the US on December 7, 1941. Black American leaders found themselves in a situation where explicit expressions of empathy or support for Japan were punished by the state.[59] Nevertheless, streams of letters into Black newspapers revealed that many Black Americans perceived the Pacific War as a race war.[60] Black American leaders retained a racial analysis of the war's causes while alluding to Japan as the "champion of the darker races."[61] The perception of Japan as "potential liberators" continued.[62] It is important to note that Japan did not invade independent countries in southern Asia; it invaded colonial outposts which the West had dominated for generations.[63] Japan's emergence as a dominant power in Asia thus challenged not only the Western presence but also "the entire mystique of white supremacism on which centuries of European and American expansion had rested."[64] Of course, Japan's Pan-Asiatic slogans played upon these sentiments, which gave Black Americans hope that Japan was truly a leader of those on the non-white side of the world color line.[65] But as Japan continued to pursue an imperial agenda, the realities of their atrocities and aggressive militarism became known, alienating Black Americans who once sought to pursue anti-racist solidarities.[66]

---

[58] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, 126.
[59] Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China*, 4.
[60] Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China*, 5.
[61] Gallicchio, *The African American Encounter with Japan and China*, 5.
[62] Kearney, *African American Views of the Japanese*, xxv.
[63] John W. Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 5.
[64] Dower, *War without Mercy*, 6.
[65] Dower, *War without Mercy*, 6.
[66] Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism*, 2.

Despite growing concerns, Du Bois continued to defend Japan. Onishi describes Du Bois as being "resolute in defending his pro-Japan position, valorizing Japan's Pan-Asianism as a force of anti-imperialist nationalism against the underlying white supremacy of imperialism and colonialism."[67] Du Bois saw Japan's colonial agendas as a way to "challenge the white-oriented international order."[68] He continued to believe that Japan "could become the nation that could alter the politics of race and power" to "challenge the global systems of racialized inequality and exploitation that Western imperialism and colonialism created and perpetuated."[69] Bill Mullen and Cathryn Watson explain that Du Bois' optimism was fueled by Afro-Orientalism, or "a combination of passionate intellectual desire to wed African American political interest and African American support to Asian destiny, and at times incomplete, romanticized, or willful analysis of events there."[70] Du Bois' pro-Japan stance was limiting, and he became a "captive of this bureaucracy of the Japanese imperialist state because, in this overdetermined instance, he thought of anti-imperialism solely in terms of race rather than working through the dialectics of race and nation."[71] Thus, as Seok-Won Lee notes, Black internationalists such as Du Bois who maintained their support for Japan by ignoring Japanese colonial discourses were "crafting a rhetoric of racial liberation" which was itself a "violent weapon in the name of inclusion."[72] By the end of World War II, Black American-Japanese solidarities had deteriorated. A possible alliance once full of potential was now a stain marring Afro-Asian relations. In fact, Du Bois also

---

[67] Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism,* 2.
[68] Seok-Won Lee, "The Paradox of Racial Liberation: W. E. B. Du Bois and Pan-Asianism in Wartime Japan, 1931–1945," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 515.
[69] Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism,* 5.
[70] Mullen and Watson, "Introduction," xiv.
[71] Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism,* 7.
[72] Lee, "The Paradox of Racial Liberation," 515.

eventually turned against Japan. In *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), Du Bois reordered history.[73] He downgraded Japan in the world revolution schema, choosing instead to uplift the Asiatic socialism in the People's Republic of China.[74] Du Bois' decision to severe ties with Japan seemed to represent the closing of a chapter, the end of a tumultuous effort spanning decades to cultivate Black American-Japanese solidarities.

This section has sought to contextualize the histories of Black American-Japanese solidarities in the early twentieth century. This is by no means a comprehensive history but is a narrative that illuminates the backdrop for the relationships forged between Black American soldiers and Japanese women during Occupied Japan. Black American intellectuals such as Du Bois reckoned with the world color line metaphor to envision shared oppression across the globe, recognizing possible networks for anti-racism across the Atlantic and the Pacific as the US transformed into an imperial colonial power. However, Japan was more concerned with using racial equality to gain a seat at the oppressor's table. This was reflected by their own transformation into an imperial colonial power. While solidarities between Black Americans and the Japanese discussed here never blossomed into a larger social movement or amendment, I do not discount the moments of their shared resistance. The attempts to find shared experiences of oppression and to mobilize against global white supremacy echo from these historical exchanges into the present. They are certainly observed within Occupied Japan, as two different nations with separate racial

[73] Bill Mullen, *Un-American: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 148.
[74] Mullen, *Un-American*, 148.

constructions sought to create a new social order. The following pages thus set the scene for Black Americans and the Japanese to connect within the Occupation.

Race and Racialization in Occupied Japan

This chapter is concerned with race because the war between Japan and the US was a "race war."[75] John Dower argues that race and racism played an undeniably large role in World War Two, observed within how "the dehumanization of the Other contributed immeasurably to the psychological distancing that facilitates killing, not only on the battlefield but also in the plans adopted by strategists far removed from the actual scene of combat."[76] Although both nations adopted racist arguments in their wartime propaganda, I note that race and racialization was different based on national and cultural concept. Michael Omi and Howard Winant in recognizing that race is "a concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflict and interests by referring to different types of human bodies."[77] The process of racialization, then, is "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group."[78] This includes the process of "selection, of imparting social and symbolic meaning to perceived phenotypical differences."[79] The making of meaning in race in the US has been linked to "the conquest of the Americas, the rise of capitalism, the circumnavigation of the globe, the Atlantic slave trade, and the rise of European and then US domination of the Middle East, Indian Ocean, and Pacific rim as well."[80]

---

[75] Dower, *War without Mercy*, 4.
[76] Dower, *War without Mercy*, 11.
[77] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, "The Theory of Racial Formation.," in *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 110.
[78] Omi and Winant, "The Theory of Racial Formation," 111.
[79] Omi and Winant, "The Theory of Racial Formation," 111.
[80] "Conclusion: The Contrarieties of Race," in *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 245.

However, Japan was not a key player in the transatlantic slave trade and consequently engaged alternate processes of racialization which helped rationalize dominance over other Asian countries. Despite the difference in constructions of race, Japan *did* mimic Western racial ideologies, observed within their rhetoric of Pan-Asianism.[81] Japan and the US both used race as a rhetorical tool for conquest, and this shared approach allowed their racial logics "to mesh" during the Occupation.[82] Japan's Pan-Asianism was "well nested within the Western version of a worldwide racial hierarchy."[83] Modern Japan's racism thus needed American racism to "reinforce the validity of white supremacy," for this was the foundation Japan used to build its own superiority in Asia.[84] Put differently, "Japanese racism also reinforced American racism."[85]

As Japan modernized and engaged the West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they were pushed to navigate racial identity beyond their national borders.[86] According to Yuko Kawai, the two indigenous concepts of race of *jinshu* and *minzoku* are essential to understanding nationalism and racism in modern Japan.[87] *Jinshu* was, and continues to be, the Japanese translation of the word "race" and was historically used to "advocate Japan's commonality with Asia and its united defiance of Western political practices based on the latter's racial order."[88] *Minzoku* was often

---

[81] Yukiko Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 9.
[82] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 9.
[83] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 12.
[84] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 12.
[85] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 12.
[86] Yuko Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race': The Politics of Jinshu and Minzoku and the Depoliticization of Japaneseness," in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia*, ed. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (Boston: Brill, 2015), 368.
[87] Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race.'"
[88] Shin'ichi Yamamuro, *Shisō Kadai to Shite No Ajia: Kijiku, Rensa, Tōki* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2001). Quoted in Yuko Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race': The Politics of Jinshu and Minzoku and the Depoliticization of Japaneseness," in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia*, ed. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (Boston: Brill, 2015), 368.

employed in the "differentiation of the Japanese from other Asian peoples and in the building of a 'new racial order' led by Japan."[89] In fact, Japanese intellectuals were attracted to the logic of *minzoku,* which they saw as a means to replace the Western logic of race.[90] They were convinced that this *minzoku,* "nation or ethnos," would lead to abandoning the biological definition of race—a step they believed was necessary for the integration of racial communities.[91] Kawai thus explains that *jinshu* enabled the Japanese and other Asian peoples to be "assigned to one racial group and labeled 'inferior' in the Western racial order," while *minzoku* disrupted this by allowing Japan to "release" themselves from this Western racial order.[92] The differentiation between *jinshu* and *minzoku* is key to Japanese constructions of race, because this is what empowered Japan to consolidate imperial rule over Asia.[93] The concept of *minzoku* separated the Japanese from the Asian people that they colonized, particularly Koreans and Taiwanese.[94] Racial construction in Japan, then, partly relied on differentiating themselves from other Asians.[95] In terms of color prejudice, the Japanese have traditionally understood the color black to carry negative symbolic connotations, such as corruption, death, evil, illness, and impurity.[96] The pursuit of white as an aesthetic marker for beauty during the Heian and Nara periods, as well as Japanese proverbs drawing links between whiteness and beauty, convey how whiteness has been

---

[89] Yamamuro, *Shisō Kadai to Shite No Ajia*. Quoted in Kawai, ""16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race.'"
[90] Lee, "The Paradox of Racial Liberation," 528.
[91] Lee, "The Paradox of Racial Liberation," 528.
[92] Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race,'" 368.
[93] Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race,'" 374.
[94] Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race,'" 374.
[95] Kawai, "16 Japanese as Both a 'Race' and a 'Non-Race,'" 378.
[96] John Russell, "Race and Reflexivity: The Black Other in Contemporary Japanese Mass Culture," *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 1 (February 1991): 5.

historically privileged.[97] Japan has thus traditionally associated black with negative, and white with positive meanings. These connotations emerged separately from Western constructions of Blackness. But as early as the sixteenth century, Japan began to adopt Western ideas about Blackness, including the standardized traits of the Black Other.[98] The position Black people occupy in the Japanese hierarchy of races, then, "not only echoes Western racist paradigms but borrows from them."[99] Therefore, Japanese constructions of race historically differed from the US, but Japan's participation in modern exchange with Western powers led them to embrace and exert the same racist rhetorics in their pursuit of imperial and colonial projects.

I focus on race relations during the Occupation of Japan because this was a period in which the racist rhetorics of Japan and the US became entwined within shared time and space. As American forces asserted dominance in Japan and interacted with Japanese people, entirely new racial experiences were brought to the surface. Seeing the enemy Other was previously an experience that was limited to the battlefield. But with Japan's surrender and the start of the Allied Occupation, the Americans and the Japanese were found themselves within physical proximity. Racial rhetorics were thus transformed from the abstract to the concrete. In the early stages of the Occupation (1945-1948), SCAP used race to instill "a proper sense of relations between the white conqueror and the colored vanquished."[100] SCAP and the US government expected to legitimize "new American (white) leadership in Asia" to replace Japan.[101] The "shrill

[97] Russell, "Race and Reflexivity," 5.
[98] Russell, "Race and Reflexivity," 5.
[99] Russell, "Race and Reflexivity," 5.
[100] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*,16.
[101] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*,16.

racial rhetoric" of wartime conflict was adapted, and idioms that formerly "denoted the unbridgeable gap between oneself and the enemy" were transformed to promote Occupation hierarchies. From the American perspective, the Japanese went from "simian" to "pet."[102] Put differently, the Japanese became willing pupils awaiting to learn the American way.[103] And from the Japanese perspective, the idea of purity was divorced from "martial pursuits" and instead, took on the image of peace.[104] The compatible racial rhetorics of Japan and the US allowed paved the path for a transition from wartime to Occupation relations. It is important to note that SCAP recognized discussions of racism as a negative influence, and enacted censorship laws that prevented public discussions of white supremacy.[105] Specifically, the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD), which was one of the military intelligence units, "issued the Code for Japanese Press in September 1945, which essentially subsumed press freedom to the authority and the needs of the US military."[106] For example any publications referring to the Japanese as "the colored race" were censored.[107] At the same time, the Japanese were embarrassed of their "submission to white supremacy."[108] The Japanese, then, were not particularly eager to discuss race and racism within the post-World War II period. Such shared understanding facilitated new racial hierarchies under the Occupation.

---

[102] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*,13.
[103] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*,13.
[104] Dower, *War without Mercy*, 13.
[105] Yukiko Koshiro, "The U.S. Occupation of Japan as a Mutual Racial Experience," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 318.
[106] "Unheard Voices: Allied Censorship of Japanese Print Publications." University of Maryland Libraries, accessed February 29, 2024, https://exhibitions.lib.umd.edu/crossing-the-divide/censorship-folder/censorship#:~:text=The%20Civil%20Censorship%20Detachment%20(CCD,topics%2C%20known%20as%20Key%20Logs.
[107] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 66.
[108] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 49.

Segregation was one race-related policy which SCAP implemented, and the Japanese accepted. During the Occupation, Japanese citizens wrote letters to MacArthur.[109] While many of these letters were "written in a tone of supplication to an omnipotent—godlike—MacArthur," others expressed their belief that MacArthur stood "side by side" with them which struck "a note of confidence in the equality of the Japanese race."[110] From the US perspective, it was unacceptable for the Japanese to "turnabout in their view of relations."[111] After all, the Japanese had complied with an unconditional surrender and could not expect equal status or equal standing with the US.[112] To combat the friendliness of the Japanese, which supposedly signaled their arrogance, SCAP moved to implement a policy of nonfraternization and thus physical segregation.[113] A similar non-fraternization policy in Germany fizzled only after a few months, but in Japan, the presence of the color line "accentuated the racial cleavage between the white master and the colored subject," which reinforced American racial hierarchies.[114] The non-fraternization policy led to the appearance of special first-class cars on trains, with accommodations that were restricted to Allied Occupation personnel; American soldiers paid no transportation charges and were forbidden to ride streetcars, subways, ferries, boats, or any trains except those special cars from which the Japanese were barred.[115] These special accommodations were open to all American soldiers regardless of race.[116] The Japanese were confined to "dilapidated, often windowless

[109] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 53.
[110] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 53.
[111] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 55.
[112] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 55.
[113] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 59.
[114] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan,* 59.
[115] Koshiro, "The U.S. Occupation of Japan as a Mutual Racial Experience," 314.
[116] Michael Cullen Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Military Empire after World War II* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2010), 41.

cars."[117] Occupational command implemented even more strict measures of segregation in 1946.[118] Recreational facilities reserved for Americans now featured prominent notices that read "For Allied Personnel Only" or "Japanese Keep Out."[119] Because the SCAP employed indigenous labor, they created separate entrances for the Americans and Japanese in many office buildings.[120] Furthermore, American soldiers were also prohibited from using Japanese hotels, inns, theaters, and from drinking Japanese water and eating Japanese food.[121] Occupied Japan ultimately came to look "almost like complete racial segregation."[122] The policy of non-fraternization, which segregated the Japanese from their occupiers, was new to the Japanese people. However, this was a familiar measure to the Black American soldiers who were serving in Occupied Japan.

The policies of segregation followed Black American soldiers across the world, into Japan. According to William Chafe and Raymond Gavins, the Jim Crow era was "a combination of the de facto second-class citizenship and racial separation that emerged in 1877 at the end of Reconstruction, and the de jure arsenal of laws and official regulations that came to fruition in the 1890s."[123] Segregation came to be enforced to prevent "any further danger of race-mixing."[124] Black Americans were thus eliminated from civic life.[125] These practices of discrimination were also experienced by Black

---

[117] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 41.
[118] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 41.
[119] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 42.
[120] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 42.
[121] Koshiro, "The U.S. Occupation of Japan as a Mutual Racial Experience," 314.
[122] Koshiro, "The U.S. Occupation of Japan as a Mutual Racial Experience," 320.
[123] William H. Chafe, Raymond Gavins, and Robert Rodgers Korstad, eds., *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Talk about Life in the Segregated South* (New York: The New Press ; In association with Lyndhurst Books of the Center for Documentary Studies of Duke University, 2021), xxiv.
[124] Chafe, Gavins, and Korstad, *Remembering Jim Crow*, xxv.
[125] Brian Purnell et al., eds., "Introduction: Histories of Racism and Resistance, Seen and Unseen: How and Why To Think about the Jim Crow North," in *The Strange Careers of the Jim Crow North: Segregation and Struggle Outside of the South* (New York: New York University Press, 2019), 1.

American soldiers who were enlisted within the US military. To begin, the US military was a "sprawling structure of white domination."[126] The US military offered a "grossly disproportionate share of power and prestige to those who could claim status as white," evidenced in the ways white people have an easier time joining the military or a particular service; rising within officer ranks; receiving well-paid work and promotions; enjoying recreational facilities, and more.[127] Although the US military consisted of various color lines (Black-white, Black-non-Black, white-non-white, Japanese-non-Japanese), each of these differentiations served to not only reinforce white domination but also to maintain structures of Black subordination.[128] US military leaders embraced the notion that morale, efficiency, and discipline of the US (white) troops depended upon these divides and sought to reinforce them.[129] This initiative was perhaps most evident in the strict policies of segregation. Black-white lines of division were present in the "strict spatial separation or ghettoization" of Black troops in training camps, which was achieved segregated posts such as the Tuskegee Army Airfield in Alabama and Fort Huachuca in Arizona.[130] Jim Crow segregation was also practiced in posts and stations which had separate "white" and "colored" officers' clubs, messes, and quarters.[131] Such measures were also applied internationally, as Black soldiers faced segregation policies in Occupied Japan. For example, Black soldiers were barred from recreational facilities

[126] Thomas A. Guglielmo, *Divisions: A New History of Racism and Resistance in America's World War II Military* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021), 3.
[127] Guglielmo, *Divisions*, 3.
[128] Guglielmo, *Divisions*, 4.
[129] Guglielmo, *Divisions*, 4.
[130] Guglielmo, *Divisions*, 214.
[131] Guglielmo, *Divisions*, 217.

such as clubs, snack bars, and swimming pools, although white soldiers were free to use theirs.[132]

Furthermore, the arrival of the Occupation forces reinforced anti-Black prejudice in Japan.[133] American domination during the Occupation led Japan to uncritically accept depictions of Black Otherness into their own racial imaginaries.[134] The Japanese thus learned the "American way of racism" through exposure to American exceptionalism and western superiority observed through the US military.[135] Black American soldiers were wary of the ways in which the US military instilled anti-Blackness in Japan. Several Black American soldiers collectively wrote a letter to the Commanding General of the Eighth Army, in which they asked for "redress for a wrong that has so grievously and so flagrantly perpetrated against us."[136] The incident was one in which white soldiers refused to allow Black soldiers to swim in the pool, despite it being their scheduled time to enjoy the recreation facilities. The Black American soldiers explained that they are "constantly reminded by radio and by our officers and noncommissioned officers that we must be able to set an example for the people of this country because they watch us closely and get their ideas about America from our actions and the ways in which we wear our uniforms."[137] The letter thus outlined the fear that Japanese civilians would observe and ultimately adopt anti-Black attitudes from white soldiers. These fears were also likely grounded in the fact white soldiers were "notorious for

---

[132] Koshiro, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*, 310.
[133] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 62.
[134] Russell, "Race and Reflexivity," 5.
[135] Jasmine Mitchell, "Racism, Prejudice, and Democratization: The Westernization of Japan Under U.S. Occupation, 1945-52," 2019, 14.
[136] Maynard Miller, "Letter to the Commanding General" (1946), Maynard Miller photograph album of occupied Japan, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4xw4cf66.
[137] Maynard Miller, "Letter to the Commanding General" (1946), Maynard Miller photograph album of occupied Japan, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4xw4cf66.

spreading horror stories among civilian populations about their African American counterparts."[138] White soldiers told the Japanese that the raping, pillaging, and murdering were violent traits unique to Black troops, and the Japanese bought into these rumors.[139] Capturing the frustration many Black Americans felt about this racist dynamic, J. E. Edwards told readers of *The Chicago Defender*, "the American white man's idea is: I'm white and the women of the world must bow at my feet and ignore the black man. Just think, we colored people bought millions in bonds to help send over the missionary in uniform to spread race hate against us."[140] These anecdotes reveal that Black American soldiers experienced racist discrimination even while stationed in Japan. Despite the introduction of a separate category of racialized Other, Black American soldiers were subjected to practices of segregation. And though they engaged in meaningful acts of resistance, Black American soldiers remained nested within multiple vectors of racialized power flowing through Occupied Japan.

Black American soldiers and the Japanese shared common experiences of segregation under the US military. Although the specific practices differed between Black American soldiers who belonged to the institution and the Japanese people who surrendered to the institution, both were oppressed by global manifestations of white supremacy. This differed from the Black American-Japanese solidarities that were fostered in the early twentieth century. Black American intellectuals at the time were engaging with the world color line as a metaphor which they saw bringing non-white groups together. On the other hand, Japan was concerned with becoming an imperial

---

[138] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 62.
[139] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 63.
[140] J.E. Edwards, "Says White GIs Spread Anti-Negro Bias Through World," *The Chicago Defender*, June 19, 1946.

power that would be accepted within white Western circles. The Black American-Japanese solidarities fostered at the time were tenuous, and as argued earlier, utilitarian and opportunistic for the Japanese. However, Occupied Japan brought Black Americans and the Japanese into the same space at the same time. The shared oppressions were no longer imagined—they were being experienced together. I thus delve into the possibilities for Black American-Japanese solidarities within Occupied Japan. As mentioned earlier, I examine possible solidarities fostered between Black American soldier and Japanese women, two of the most vulnerable groups, as my point of entry. This decision is grounded in an effort to decenter political struggle in favor of a focus on relationalities. As Blain and Gill have argued, a narrow focus on political struggle constructs narratives that tend to uplift the same dominant voices.[141] I thus illuminate the relationships cultivated between Black American soldiers and Japanese women during the Occupation, as well as the transcolonial intimacies that their relationships inspired.

Tracing and Speculating About Racial Solidarities

My account of Black American-Japanese racial solidarities during the Occupation is informed by my examination of artifacts across historic newspapers, photo albums, and a journal documenting a first-hand account of life under the Occupation. I examine the photo albums of two Black American soldiers: Maynard Miller and Henry Heyliger. Both albums were acquired by the Hope Franklin Research Center for African and African American History and Culture and are digitally accessible through the Duke University Library Repository: Collections and Archives. According to the collection description, Maynard Miller was "an African American Staff Sergeant with the 3540th

[141] Blain and Gill, "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism."

and 3524th Quartermaster Truck Company, an African American company stationed in occupied Japan in 1946."[142] The Henry Heyliger photo album largely documents "the 610th Port Company based in Yokohama, Japan, 1947."[143] The photographs in both albums capture moments between Black American soldiers and Japanese women. Some photos are individual portraits of Japanese women, and some photos show Black American soldiers (either themselves or their friends) in close proximity, arms wrapped around the Japanese women in a gentle embrace. These captured moments offer a window into their relationships.

I also draw from *Notes of Occupational Army* or 進駐軍の記 by T. Miyazaki, a censored book housed within the Prange Collection at the University of Maryland. The cover of this book says, "single copy." In larger capital letters that run diagonally across the page are the words, "SUPPRESS." We can assume that this book failed to pass the censorship protocol and was not circulated into the Japanese public.[144] Furthermore, because the book was handwritten in pencil, this was likely the only copy that exists. What was suppressed by the censorship bureau is now, decades later, available for someone like me to read. The unpublished manuscript details Miyazaki's encounters with the Occupation forces. One of the chapters titled "黒ん坊" or "kurombo," which was a derogatory word for Black men, includes reflections of Miyazaki's time spent with Black American soldiers. The handwritten pages convey the personal intimacies of

[142] Description of Maynard Miller photograph album of occupied Japan, Maynard Miller photograph album of occupied Japan, John Hope Franklin Research Center for African and African American History and Culture, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4xw4cf66.
[143] Description of Henry Heyliger photograph album of occupied Japan, Henry Heyliger photograph album of occupied Japan, John Hope Franklin Research Center for African and African American History and Culture, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4bk1b791.
[144] This was discussed with Kana Jenkins, curator of the Gordon W. Prange Collection, in the Special Collections Room at the University of Maryland on March 7, 2024.

Miyazaki's encounters and reflections, and also provide one Japanese man's thoughts about Black American soldiers during the Occupation.

Finally, I explore newspaper articles from *The Chicago Defender,* which was one of the most influential Black weekly newspapers in the early twentieth century.[145] During the Occupation, the publication ran articles about the situation in Japan written by Black Americans who were stationed there. Ethel Payne, who later became known as the "First Lady of the Black Press," was one of their writers.[146] Payne is famous for being "the first African American woman to be included in the White House Press corps and [becoming] a radio and television commentator."[147] Payne had left Chicago to work for Japan for the Army Special Services club in 1948.[148] She kept personal notes about what she witnessed during the Occupation, including segregation of the soldiers.[149] Payne showed Korean War reporter Alex Wilson her diary, and after reading, he suggested that she send her notes to the *Chicago Defender*.[150] I work closely with a series Payne wrote for the *Defender* titled, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs for Suckers." The series ran in two parts. The first, "'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused," was published on November 18, 1950. The second, "Says Fate That Awaits War Babies is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Union," was published one week later on November 25, 1950. In these articles, Payne discusses the relationships cultivated between Black American soldier and Japanese women during the Occupation, as well as

[145] "History of the Chicago Defender," The Chicago Defender, Red Times Media, https://chicagodefender.com/history-of-the-chicago-defender/.
[146] Ashlee Anderson, "Ethel L. Payne," National Women's History Museum, 2018, https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/ethel-payne.
[147] Anderson, "Ethel L. Payne."
[148] Anderson, "Ethel L. Payne."
[149] Anderson, "Ethel L. Payne."
[150] Anderson, "Ethel L. Payne."

the consequences of those relationships in the form of biracial children and the extended racism they face. I rely on Payne's work, as well as other articles in the *Chicago Defender* published during this time, to understand how Black Americans in the US were responding to racial negotiations in Occupied Japan.

These different archival materials are scattered and thus require speculation for interpretation. In one respect, these artifacts are scattered because they are housed in separate collections across the US. But these artifacts are also scattered because they are written and captured *by* separate individuals, as well as written and captured *for* separate audiences. For example, Payne was clearly writing for the Black American public in the US, while Miyazaki's notes were written in Japanese and thus aimed towards the Japanese public in Japan. The photo albums are more challenging to discern, as they are incredibly personal documents. Were they simply for their personal records? Or were they to later share with friends and family back home? Interpretation of these artifacts thus requires speculation. And so, I do speculate. I foreground my musings and wonderings as I attempt to understand what I never truly can. If I was grounded in the work of public figures or political measures, perhaps there would be a clearer trail of content and context for me to trace a narrative through. But here I am seeking to engage the most personal, the most intimate.

This chapter is invested in two different registers of intimacy. The first register is intimacy as close familiarity or friendship, of emotional or physical closeness between people. There is intimacy observed within the romantic and sexual relationships of the Black American soldiers and Japanese women. But this intimacy also brings more intimacies, more opportunities for closeness, as observed within the way other

individuals become involved. I think of the children who are born from these unions, and of the friends and families bound to each individual who are brought together across racial groups. But these intimacies can also be severed, and this is also an important aspect of the shared closeness I examine between Black American soldiers and Japanese women.

The second register is the transcolonial intimacies, which highlight how people recognize mutual humanity across multiple vectors of colonial power. However, I take a shared recognition of humanity between Black American soldiers and Japanese women as a given, particularly if they are engaging in what I interpret to be close friendships or romantic relationships. Instead, I rely on the connections forged between Black American soldiers and Japanese women as a catalyst, a point of origin for a larger reaction that incites shared recognitions of humanity across their communities. Specifically, I explore the transcolonial intimacies that Miyazaki forms with Black American soldiers, and that Payne forms with the widow and children of a deceased Black American soldier. I argue that these transcolonial intimacies function to disrupt the extension of the color line into Occupied Japan and resist global manifestations of white supremacy.

Miyazaki, Pepin, and the Dancer of Yokohama

Relationships between Black American men and Japanese women could be understood as a form of radical resistance, as they both intentionally crossed the boundaries of segregation established by white American leaders. However, these relationships were not widely celebrated. Yasuhiro Okada explains that Black American soldiers who were romantically engaged with Japanese women confronted “widespread prejudice against

interracial intimacy in Japanese society…[and] systematic opposition to their marriage coming from US civil and military authorities."[151] Here, I focus on the way Japanese men strongly expressed disapproval at Japanese women's decisions to fraternize with American soldiers. During the Occupation, Japanese men expressed dismay at the sight of Japanese women "arm in arm with her GI companion or riding gaily in his jeep."[152] To witness such acts was to have one's national pride, specifically masculine pride, deeply wounded.[153] For others, fraternization between American soldiers and Japanese women attracted a strong curiosity paired with strong contempt.[154]

This balance between curiosity and contempt is particularly evident within *Notes of Occupational Army* by T. Miyazaki, a book illustrating one Japanese man's experiences engaging with American soldiers during the Occupation. Miyazaki recounts his time on a US military camp, noting that American soldiers were segregated in their barracks and refused to engage across race: "The whites are only ever seen with the other whites; the Black American soldiers are seen with the Mexicans with black hair and black eyes, the Spanish, and the Belgians. But the Nisei and the whites are never seen with the Black American soldiers. The Nisei and the whites are never seen together either."[155] Miyazaki's job placed him in proximity with Black American soldiers, and he spent a considerable amount of time in their barracks. As Miyazaki developed

[151] Yasuhiro Okada, "Race, Masculinity, and Military Occupation: African American Soldiers' Encounters with the Japanese at Camp Gifu, 1947-1951," *The Journal of African American History* 96, no. 2 (n.d.): 191.
[152] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*,135.
[153] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*,135.
[154] Koshiro, "The U.S. Occupation of Japan as a Mutual Racial Experience," 315-316.
[155] T. Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ *Notes of Occupational Army"* (unpublished manuscript), handwritten, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA, 61.

relationships with the Black American soldiers, they began to ask him to translate correspondence with Japanese dancers.

One Black soldier named Pepin (although he also had a separate name: Ures Parus) asked Miyazaki to translate his letters to a woman he called "The Dancer of Yokohama."[156] Pepin was passionately studying Japanese and whenever a Japanese laborer entered to clean the American soldiers' tents, he would find them and "bring out his 'phrase book.'" Miyazaki was won over by Pepin's dedication to the language and taught him Japanese whenever there was time. One day, Pepin brought a letter from a dancer and asked him to translate into English.[157] Miyazaki was unimpressed by the letter, lamenting that "You could tell the dancer's background from this letter, that she was horribly uneducated—maybe middle school level. Not even worth seeing her face, or so I expect."[158] Although Miyazaki pitied Pepin, he recognized that Pepin liked the woman enough to call her a "nice girl" several times. So, Miyazaki offered to translate a letter from Pepin to the dancer. But unbeknownst to Pepin, Miyazaki included a translator's note: "Your naivete is making Pepin suffer. If you are a dancer of Yokoyama, then you should live a more conscientious life as a Japanese woman. From the translator of Ures Parus's letters." Miyazaki thus seemingly sabotages Pepin's relationship with the Japanese dancer. His intervention marshals a sort of masculine solidarity purporting to serve Pepin, but his word choice also reveals an expectation for Japanese women to remain pure and loyal to the Japanese race. The perceived responsibility for Japanese women to remain loyal to the Japanese race during the

[156] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 62.
[157] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 62.
[158] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 63.

Occupation cannot be overstated. Michael Cullen Green has noted that the National Salvation Party in Japan created anti-Black propaganda fliers which read, "The women of our imperial nation must not have intercourse with the Black race. Those who violate this order deserve the death sentence. Therefore make absolutely sure to keep the purity of the Yamato race!"[159] I underscore this emphasis on purity, that Black-Japanese interracial relationships were not simply about Japanese women becoming involved with the victor of war. Rather, what terrified Japanese men was the possibility that Japanese women would be tainting Japan's position within the racial hierarchy.

Nevertheless, there are photos in the Maynard Miller album and the Henry Heyliger album which show young Japanese women openly expressing affection towards Black American soldiers. I imagine that these are acts of resistance in Japan. Perhaps this is not resistance towards SCAP and the color line, but towards Japan and the imperial order that racial purity represents. By the time Japan surrendered, the war had devastated its people. The Japanese women, who witnessed the loss unfold, may have carried anger in the recesses of their body. And maybe the risqué photos they posed for was one such outlet for their anger. I am thinking about one particular image in the Miller album, which captures a young Japanese woman wearing what appears to be a swimsuit.[160] She is carrying a sweater or jacket above her head. Her arms are outstretched and somewhat bent, almost like she has been captured in the midst of a sensual dance. Her eyes are closed, and her face seems posed, like she is waiting for the photo to be taken. I find resistance in the curves of her body, in the way she turns her

[159] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 63.
[160] Photograph of young Japanese woman, 1946, Maynard Miller Photograph Album of Occupied Japan, John Hope Franklin Research Center for African and African American History and Culture, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4xw4cf66.

right leg inward to enhance her hourglass shape, in the way she unabashedly invites the photographer to snap the shot. The Japanese woman exhibits a brazen confidence that is bound to incite anger in a Japanese man who might happen to pass by. But the Black American soldier taking this photograph accepts and even admires her, evident in the caption scrawled onto the space next to her, which reads, "some fine talent." I suggest that the Black American soldier is able to recognize her humanity, the same humanity that Japan demanded that she sacrifice for the nation.

My speculations about this photo seek to unsettle the notion of Japanese women simply serving American soldiers. The imbalanced gender ratio in postwar Japan, paired with the sexual appeal of American manhood, motivated some young Japanese women to "take US soldiers, Black and white, as lovers or husbands, in spite of the traditional prejudice against interracial intimacy in Japanese society."[161] Furthermore, women who engaged in romantic or sexual encounters with American soldiers often received gifts during their time together. [162] But beyond sex work or short-term flings, some Japanese women also served as *only-san* (*onrii-san*) or "temporary wives" for American soldiers.[163] While sex workers or *pan pan* would take multiple customers on a temporary basis, the *only-san* would serve as a wife for one soldier until he returned to the US.[164] Some Japanese women would serve multiple soldiers over time, a few even marrying the men they had been *only-san* for.[165] Such categorizable relationships have been studied and are certainly worth studying. However, I draw attention to a fleeting moment,

[161] Okada, "Race, Masculinity, and Military Occupation: African American Soldiers' Encounters with the Japanese at Camp Gifu, 1947-1951," 188.
[162] Dower, *War without Mercy*.
[163] Ayako Mizumura, "Reflecting (on) the Orientalist Gaze: A Feminist Analysis of Japanese -U.S. GIs Intimacy in Postwar Japan and Contemporary Okinawa," PhD diss., (University of Kansas, 2009): 71.
[164] Mizumura, "Reflecting (on) the Orientalist Gaze."
[165] Mizumura, "Reflecting (on) the Orientalist Gaze."

literally, that is captured in this photo. In speculating the resistant possibilities embedded within this image of a Japanese woman taken by a Black American soldier, I see that these uncategorizable intimacies also carry a world of possibilities. Through an examination of this photo, I have suggested that the Black American soldier is rejecting a version of the color line established by the US military that enforces segregation. The Japanese woman is reclaiming ownership of herself, choosing to show her body and pose for the camera. The photo thus recovers a moment of shared resistance.

To return to Miyazaki's account, it is worth noting that as he continued to translate correspondence for Pepin, he had a change of perspective. I argue that he witnesses a moment of shared resistance, which empowers him to recognize the humanity of Black American soldiers. Miyazaki realizes that the Japanese dancer is sending letters to another Black solder in the barracks. In a letter for Pepin, the Japanese dancer writes, "Please don't be angry even if you see me dancing with someone else. He is your friend but I don't want there to be any fights. Dancing is how I make my living. Even if I don't want to, I have to dance. Please understand. Please don't be angry because I like you."[166] When Miyazaki saw the other Black soldier receive the exact same letter, he was livid. But the two Black soldiers seemed to be at ease. I wonder if Pepin and his friend are genuinely unconcerned and unbothered because they recognize their relationship with this dancer to be temporary. Perhaps she was not featured in their personal photo albums with adoring captions. Another possibility, if reading against the grain, is that Pepin and his friend are secretly upset with one another but deftly conceal their anger from Miyazaki. White American soldiers were known for spreading

[166] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 64.

propaganda about their Black counterparts, describing them as violent and dangerous. The nonchalance observed between Pepin and his friend may have been an act of resistance, an attempt to alter the white narrative. Regardless of their motivations, their actions left a mark on Miyazaki. He wrote, "Pepin and Soldier B are friendly and they don't fight. But when they read the letters and send out the letters, they say, 'It's a secret from Pepin,' and 'Don't tell Soldier B.' … They continued to be good friends and never fought."[167] These encounters with the Black American soldiers "impressed" Miyazaki.[168] The romantic triangle between the Japanese dancer, Pepin, and Soldier B was thus a catalyst for Miyazaki to deepen his sense of admiration toward Black soldiers generally.

In the following pages of the *Notes of Occupation Army*, Miyazaki recounted how a crowd of Black soldiers—including Pepin and Soldier B—were wearing work clothes to build new barracks in the wet field.[169] The soldiers continued to work without resting, without anyone even overseeing them, without a single complaint. When they realized Miyazaki was there, Pepin wordlessly handed him a cigarette. Miyazaki was in awe as he watched the soldiers continue to labor outdoors, and he "sensed some contradiction" as he thought about the Japanese laborers who constantly complain despite working indoors.[170] I propose that this moment of cognitive dissonance reflects Miyazaki's recognition of shared humanity between himself and Black American soldiers. It is clear in Miyazaki's account that he respects the Black American soldiers for their diligence, for keeping their head down and working despite the unforgiving

[167] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 64.
[168] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 64.
[169] Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ Notes of Occupational Army," 65.
[170] T. Miyazaki, "進駐軍の記/ *Notes of Occupational Army"* (unpublished manuscript), handwritten, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA, 66.

environment. Even outside of this one instance, Black American soldiers were delegated tasks of manual labor, working long hours at physically demanding jobs.[171] The racial hierarchy was present in the Occupation workplace, as white personnel took on more indoor and administrative positions and rarely interacted with the Japanese.[172] Black American soldiers were primarily working in service units, which meant they were more likely to labor alongside or above the Japanese.[173] It was not unusual for Black American soldiers to be the first Americans that the Japanese would see "in a sustained manner."[174]

This dynamic is also reflected in a series of photos within the Heyliger album, taken in Yokohama in 1947. Between photos of Heyliger and other members of his troop operating trucks, there are photos of them posing with Japanese children and Japanese laborers. One photo shows a Black American soldier with his arm around a young Japanese man.[175] The Black American soldier, identified only as Johnson, is dressed in his uniform, and the Japanese laborer has taken off his shirt. It is probably hot, as Japanese summers tend to be, and the two are finding some rest leaning against a building. The Black American soldier is relaxed as he slouches against the wall. The Japanese laborer stands slightly in front of him, his weight on his left leg and his left hand on his waist. The physical proximity between the two individuals seem to convey a closeness similar to what Miyazaki describes with Pepin: laboring together, smoking cigarettes together, and even discussing Japanese women together. Although Black

[171] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 54.
[172] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 54.
[173] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 54.
[174] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 54.
[175] Photograph of Black American soldier and Japanese laborer, Henry Heyliger Photograph Album of Occupied Japan, John Hope Franklin Research Center for African and African American History and Culture, https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4bk1b791.

American soldiers and Japanese laborers may have been assigned to the same work detail, their assignment description did not require such levels of closeness. While I have no desire to romanticize these relationships, I argue that these moments of humanization, made clearer when Miyazaki's notes and Heyliger's photos are read together, reveal transcolonial intimacies with the potential to foster Black American-Japanese solidarities under Occupied Japan.

Payne, Oishi, and the Dickersons

In December 1950, the *Chicago Defender* ran an article detailing how Mieko Oishi—wife by Japanese marriage to Sergeant First Class Robert H. Dickerson and mother to two of his children—was contacting her mother-in-law who resided in New York. Dickerson was reported missing in action in Korea. According to his record in the *Korean War Project Remembrance*, Dickerson was lost on September 1, 1950.[176] Oishi was cut off from her family and lacking funds, which led her to send a telegram to her mother-in-law, Latona Dickerson. The telegram said, "If possible, I would like to come to the United States and bring my children." The response from Latona Dickerson matched Oishi's desperation and determination: "You and the children are the only ties I have left with my son. I want you to come to America. I will do everything in my power to help you get here."[177] Despite this immediate agreement, Oishi and Latona Dickerson faced a complex web of challenges which prevented their union. In this section, I examine the romantic relationship between Oishi and Robert Dickerson, which served as

[176] "SFC Robert H Dickerson," Korean War Project Remembrance, Korean War Project, https://www.koreanwar.org/html/7560/korean-war-project-new-york-ra14067657-sfc-robert-h-dickerson/.
[177] Lois Austin, "Mother of Lost Yank Begs U.S. For Son's Japanese Wife, Children," *The Chicago Defender*, December 2, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

the catalyst that incited transcolonial intimacies beyond the couple, drawing individuals such as the journalist Ethel Payne and Latona Dickerson into attempts to cross the color line.

The relationship fostered between Oishi and Robert Dickerson existed in spite of the anti-fraternization policy enforced by SCAP. The *Chicago Defender* offers the following timeline of their relationship:

> While in the [s]ervice, he helped build the Alcan Highway in [Alaska]. Sgt. Dickerson served in Europe and in the Pacific during World War II.
> *First Wife*
> When Sgt. Dickerson returned to the state from Alaska, he was stationed in Louisiana. It was there that he married his first wife, Ruby, according to Mrs. Dickerson.
> Later, the GI shipped out of this country again for overseas duty. When he returned to the states again, he was discharged from the Army.
> Soon after, Mrs. Dickerson said, he found his marriage was broken up. In disgust, he re-enlisted in the army. That was in 1946, the same year he was released from the Army.
> He started divorce proceedings before he was sent to Japan. Meanwhile, the mother helped her son push for severance of the marriage. Soon after the sergeant arrived in the states in July 1949, his divorce was granted.
> *Japanese Wedding*
> Sergeant Dickerson returned to Japan and married Miss Mieko, in a Japanese ceremony.[178]

The language of "Japanese wedding" and "Japanese ceremony" is important to note here, because legal state-sanctioned marriage was forbidden between American soldiers and Japanese women. Oishi and Robert Dickerson were thus not married in the eyes of the US or Japanese governments. They had gone "through the motion of the Shinto wedding ceremony," which many Black American soldiers did with the plan to bring their wife and children back to the US as soon as it could be arranged. [179] The barrier to

[178] Austin, "Mother of Lost Yank Begs U.S. For Son's Japanese Wife, Children."
[179] "Soldiers Defying Red Tape to Marry Japanese Girls," *Arkansas State Press*, February 15, 1952, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

marriage weighed on the shoulders of interracial couples, driving some commit suicide rather than "face an impending separation."[180] This was true for an unnamed Black veteran and his girlfriend, Chioko Kayama, who "ended their lives by taking poison in a tiny roadside Shinto shrine."[181] The relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women were not celebrated by their respective nations. These "mixed marriages" only became a legal possibility in February 1951,[182] although this was not fast enough for Dickerson who was declared missing in action on October 18, 1950.[183] Black American soldiers and Japanese women at this time were thus prohibited from accessing a form of relationality that was recognized by the state. These relationships also tended to be points of disapproval within their respective communities. As noted earlier, Japanese men such as Miyazaki thought that the relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women were improper and could pollute the purity of the Japanese race. Black American women were also vocal in their concern.

In her two-part series, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs for Suckers," *Chicago Defender* journalist Payne wrote firsthand accounts of the relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women. Her review was sharp, humorous, and ultimately critical as she conveyed apprehension about the durability of these relationships. The articles offered context on the social order in Japan that uplifted Black American soldiers in ways that were impossible within the US. She also placed Japanese women under scrutiny, questioning their motivations to engage the affections of Black

---

[180] "Japanese Women, G.I. End Lives," *Plaindealer*, March 21, 1947, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[181] "Japanese Women, G.I. End Lives."
[182] L. Alex Wilson, "400 to Wed Tokyo Girls: Anxious to Bring War Babies Home," *The Chicago Defender*, November 4, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[183] "Japanese Women, G.I. End Lives."

American soldiers. Payne's articles were, of course, reflective of her personal perspective and cannot be extrapolated to represent the attitudes of all Black American women of the time. However, I do emphasize the importance of Payne's writing, as this was the primary—and perhaps only—channel through which Black Americans would read about the relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women in Occupied Japan. Payne thus played a crucial role in communicating information to US audiences, but as I will argue, also served as a channel through which transcolonial intimacies could be fostered across national borders.

For Black American soldiers, the Occupation signaled the opening of a new life. Payne explained that despite being surrounded by army regulations, for the Black American soldier, life in Japan "became an escape from the irking confinement of the social caste system and segregation which he had left behind him in the States."[184] She stated that even the "lowliest private with his base pay of $80 could live like a king."[185] Furthermore, if he wanted to add to his fortune, he simply had to "count and to 'know who' in trading in the Black Market."[186] Green has explained that most Black American soldiers in Japan had intentionally enlisted to "enhance their socioeconomic status."[187] Black American soldiers thus had access to money in ways that could not be replicated within the US. Furthermore, the second installment of Payne's series began by painting an image of what life for the Black American soldier in Occupied Japan looked like:

---

[184] Ethel Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused," *The Chicago Defender*, November 18, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[185] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[186] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[187] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 31.

> "Chocolate Joe" had a wide range of choice among the almond-eyed femmes. Life grew more and more pleasing. He did little hard soldiering. There was a time he hardly had to soil his hands, because he had so many "boisans" (Japanese boys) do the dirty work.
> If he wanted a glass of water, all he had to do was holler, "Anono, misu Kudasai," and a willing servitor was there to carry out his wish. He had three meals a day, his lodging at night, and a pay envelope at the end of the month. No worries. At 5 o'clock every evening when he wasn't gambling after pay day, he could knock off, take a shower, chow and get his hat. His evenings could be spent with Suziko San at "His House" or down at the club making a deal with some operator. Life was indeed pleasant.[188]

The life Payne describes for Black American soldiers stationed in Occupied Japan is one of luxury and one that he could quickly become accustomed to. Payne wrote, "Despite the encumbrances of Army policies on racial quotas, restrictions, limitations, etc., he was less of a Negro than he had been at any point in his life. In his heart, he was an expatriate."[189] Black American soldiers thus experienced the privileges of being the American victor in Occupied Japan. Being part of the US military enhanced this perspective, to "think of themselves first and foremost as Americans (and not as members of what some activists claimed was a global 'colored' community)."[190] Payne explained that it was only natural, then, that Black American soldiers would never want to return to "the rigors of job hunting, struggling to keep ahead of his debts and most of all facing the enormous problem of being a Negro in a white man's world."[191] Life in Occupied Japan was thus a temporary escape for these Black American soldiers. Their status as US military personnel elevated them, allowing greater racial freedoms in a

---

[188] Ethel Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions," *The Chicago Defender*, November 25, 1950, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[189] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions."
[190] Green, *Black Yanks in the Pacific*, 2.
[191] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions."

space where there was a clear foreign Other. But she noted that the institution which gave them their privileged status, the US military, could just as easily take it away. Payne discussed how Black American soldiers were being shipped to Korea, and now, "there is only a slim possibility that some of them will be returned to Japan, even though the occupation will continue."[192] She discussed the hardships that the Japanese women and their children would face on their own, in a space where neither the Americans nor the Japanese would claim them. The criticism Payne demonstrated toward Black American soldiers thus balanced wit with reproach. However, her discussion of Japanese women was arguably more favorable.

Japanese women were liked by Black American soldiers for their subordination and willingness to serve, Payne argued, but this was a calculated and even self-liberatory gesture. In the first installment of her series, Payne cited a Gallup Poll from 1946 and 1947 to explain that "GI Joe" found American women to be comparatively too independent.[193] She pulled a quote from a soldier who said, "Suziko San—now she's different. Fetch your shoes, wash, cook, iron, and sew. Keep quiet when you want her to. Never talk back, laugh when you want her to."[194] Instead of taking this reductive characterization of Japanese women's behavior for face value, Payne claims that "her very helplessness was a powerful weapon and an asset to her. And she exploited it to the hilt."[195] She thus framed Japanese women as "clever operator[s]" who would handle the American soldiers' paycheck, strategically spinning the money to pay for her own

[192] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions."
[193] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[194] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[195] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."

clothes, her family's food, and new furniture.[196] Although this characterization could be read as similarly reductive, I understand Payne's description of the Japanese women to be one of self-liberation. As part of their democratization agenda, SCAP had sought to emancipate Japanese women who, under the rule of imperial Japan, had been "even at best…virtually a slave." [197] But despite SCAP's best efforts, "GI Joe…had already beaten them to the punch."[198] Specifically, Payne wrote, "When Suziko San came out of the rice paddies to meet GI Joe, kicking her getas off behind her, that was the Emancipation Proclamation. Centuries of submissiveness had given her time for a lot of deep thinking."[199] In this paragraph, Payne makes the comparison between enslaved people and Japanese women, suggesting that their relationship with American soldiers was a path to liberation. Payne's coverage of the relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women have illuminated this shared recognition of humanity, as Payne connects the racial experiences of Black Americans to the oppression and liberation of Japanese women.

Finally, Payne's discussed *konketsuji,* or multiracial children born between American soldiers and Japanese women.[200] Payne was invested in the futures of these children. She characterized them as the "most beautifully exotic children in the world," and stressed that these children were deserving of sympathy because they "without a country."[201] Both US and Japanese societies refused to accept a "half-Japanese and half-

[196] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[197] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[198] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[199] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: 'Chocolate Joe' Used, Amused, Confused."
[200] Yukiko Koshiro, "Race as International Identity? 'Miscegenation' in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond," *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, Internationalizing U.S. History, 48, no. 1 (2003): 63.
[201] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions."

American (or, better yet, both Japanese and American) generation as part of their respective national identities."[202] Legally, American military law released a soldier or officer "of the responsibility for his child or [their] mother unless he wished to admit paternity."[203] Children born to parents who were not legally married were only considered American if their American fathers "admitted paternity and registered the birth with the American Consulate."[204] These policies limited the Japanese mother's options to gain parental support, and many children "ended up living in orphanages or with their mothers alone or with Japanese stepfathers."[205] Furthermore, it is important to note that American soldiers could not take their Japanese wives and half-Japanese children to the US because the 1924 Immigration Act barred them from accessing citizenship or becoming permanent residents.[206] Additionally, the child's status as a Japanese citizen was also in doubt because of the "illegality of their origin."[207] The *konketsuji* were thus placed in precarious situations, especially as increasing numbers of Black American soldiers were deployed to Korea and never returned. Japanese women who gave birth to multiracial children were ostracized by their communities and families with no one to turn to. This was the case for Oishi and her children—Jaunita, who was

[202] Koshiro, "Race as International Identity? 'Miscegenation' in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond," 64.
[203] Koshiro, "Race as International Identity? 'Miscegenation' in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond," 67.
[204] Koshiro, "Race as International Identity? 'Miscegenation' in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond," 67.
[205] Koshiro, "Race as International Identity? 'Miscegenation' in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond," 67.
[206] Koshiro, "Race as International Identity? 'Miscegenation' in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond," 67.
[207] Payne, "Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions."

22 months old and Tanya, who was about three months old—when she reached out to Robert Dickerson's mother Latona in the US, as discussed earlier in this chapter.[208]

Payne was uniquely connected to Oishi's case, as the *Chicago Defender* was publishing updates as the situation unfolded. As a writer on the ground, Payne was likely tasked with gathering information and relaying it to writers in the US. Furthermore, Payne was the one who contacted Latona Dickerson on behalf of Oishi,[209] and the one who ultimately brought Latona the ashes of her granddaughter, Tanya, from Japan to New York.[210] There was no explicit reason given for Tanya's death. There was, however, a photo which depicted Latona and her friends meeting with Payne. A smaller photo showed Payne handing the urn to Latona. Payne's softened gaze was turned toward Latona, while Latona stared blankly and with a frown into the camera. Latona's expression seems to reveal her thoughts, which are included within the photo caption: "I'll not rest until my daughter and child are here with me."[211] Latona's use of the word "daughter" instead of "daughter-in-law" suggest that a mutual recognition of humanity has been cultivated between herself and Oishi. In other words, Oishi is no longer the foreign Japanese Other. Rather, Latona came to consider Oishi and her granddaughters as family.

I underscore the ways in which Oishi's romantic relationship with Robert Dickerson ultimately incited transcolonial intimacies between herself and Latona Dickerson. Furthermore, Oishi then collaborated with Latona to negotiate a transpacific

---

[208] "Army Denies Aid to Japanese Wife of Missing GI; Soldiers Pass Hat," *The Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[209] "Army Denies Aid to Japanese Wife of Missing GI; Soldiers Pass Hat."
[210] "Photo Standalone 4 -- No Title," *The Chicago Defender*, April 21, 1951, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
[211] "Photo Standalone 4 -- No Title."

move for herself and her children to the US. I argue that the negotiations for immigration into the US reflected the racial solidarities cultivated between Oishi, a Japanese woman, and Latona Dickerson, a Black woman. Specifically, Oishi and Dickerson were seeking to disrupt the color line by physically bringing Oishi and her children across US borders. When this failed, Payne stepped in to carry Tanya's ashes into Latona's arms. Through this act, Payne herself embodied resistance to the world color line, disrupting the institutions of white supremacy which prevented Tanya from crossing this border while alive. The transnational mobility Payne enacted also indicates a shared mutual recognition of humanity, observed within her effort to ensure Tanya can posthumously meet her grandmother.

The story of Oishi and her children struck a chord in the hearts of other American soldiers. Although the army refused to recognize Oishi as Dickerson's legal wife, and thus refused to give her any benefits, 138 soldiers raised $312 for them.[212] Sergeant William H. Samuel Jr., of the 55th Quartermaster Depot, "passed the hat" after he read coverage of the Oishi-Dickerson case in the *Chicago Defender*. The funds were collected in Korea and forwarded to Payne, who then gave them to Oishi. In a letter to Latona, Payne explained that she and Oishi decided to "set aside $100 of the money for her passage to America when the time comes." Payne also wrote that "Many of the men have pledged to help [Oishi]," which underscores the idea that at least some of the American soldiers serving in Korea were sympathetic to the Oishi-Dickerson case. Furthermore, Payne described in the letter how soldiers from with a "difference in nationalities" had contributed to the cause: Richard S. Barrows, Ronald R. De Gennaro,

[212] "Army Denies Aid to Japanese Wife of Missing GI; Soldiers Pass Hat."

Leonard A. Crabinski, Peter P, Kondracki, Arturo Cavazos, Santiago J. Jaramillo, Haruo Tagawa, and Yuko Tamayoshi and Carl A. Wright. I speculate that Payne discussed the "nationalities" of these soldiers to emphasize the wide range of racial and ethnic backgrounds of soldiers who were willing to demonstrate solidarity with the Oishi-Dickerson cause. Although Payne does not explicitly mention the possibilities of a larger interracial solidarity movement, I interpret her excitement about the support as simultaneous excitement for a larger resistance against white supremacist policies that were dividing the Oishi-Dickerson family. Payne seems to understand the Oishi-Dickerson case as the catalyst to solidarity across racial lines and to larger anti-racist action. It is unclear whether the soldiers who donated to the Oishi-Dickerson cause shared Payne's sentiments. However, I do interpret their contributions as stemming from a recognition of Oishi, Jaunita, and Tanya's—and thus a Japanese woman and her multiracial children's—humanity. I thus argue that the Black American-Japanese solidarities observed within the Oishi-Dickerson case are embedded within shared recognitions of humanity that inspired collective attempts, or at least collective support of attempts to cross the world color line.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to illuminate possibilities for Black American-Japanese solidarities. Beginning with an overview of key concepts such as the color line and Black internationalism, I have examined the efforts Black American intellectuals made to connect with Japan over shared experiences of oppression under white supremacy during the early twentieth century. These tenuous efforts echoed into Occupied Japan, which brought Black Americans and the Japanese in one specific space. There was no

need to imagine shared experiences across the non-white side of the world color line because Occupied Japan was transformed into a racialized environment where segregation against Black American soldiers and Japanese people co-existed. I have traced through archival materials to draw a narrative that foregrounds relationality as resistance. Rather than uplifting political and bureaucratic forms of anti-racist advocacy, I draw attention to the interpersonal interactions that incite mutual recognitions of humanity. I argue that these moments of mutual recognition have disrupted wartime racializations of the foreign enemy, enabling Black Americans and the Japanese to see themselves in each other. Finally, instead of focusing on the romantic and sexual intimacies between Black American soldiers and Japanese women, I have mapped the transcolonial intimacies that built upon these relationships. In doing so, I emphasize the ways in which relational resistance reverberates.

Chapter 2: Right to Labor: Menstruation Leave, Containment, and Self-Reflexivity

The origin story for this chapter lies within an archival encounter I experienced when working with the Mead Smith Karras[1] papers housed within the Gordon W. Prange Collection at the University of Maryland. In one of the first boxes and in one of the first folders I opened, there was a small pamphlet dated November 1948 that caught my eye. Against a red backdrop, there was a photo of a woman smiling and holding a stack of what looked like tools with both arms. Above her, in white letters, was the phrase: 働く婦人に生理休暇は必要か. Underneath the Japanese was an English translation written down in pen: Is Menstruation Leave Necessary? Despite being born and raised in Japan, I had never heard of menstruation leave. It was surprising to me that Japan, a nation notorious for its poor gender equality ranking, has a seemingly progressive policy in place that protects the embodied experiences of menstruators. As a menstruator myself, I was immediately invested in the story that was being told through the Karras papers. How did menstruation leave become a legal right in Japan? Who played a role in this endeavor? How was the policy implemented? I was pulled back into the boxes of folders and documents, drawn to the narrative waiting to be excavated from the pages in front of me. This chapter is thus my attempt to better understand menstruation leave in Japan, and how it came to be a topic of transcultural public discourse during the Occupation.

[1] She was known as Mead Smith during the Occupation, and this is the name used on her official documents. However, I use her married name when referring to her in this chapter, as the collection of papers are titled “The Karras Papers,” for consistency.

While I am concerned with the topic of menstruation leave, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a comprehensive overview of its adoption in Japan. Rather, my engagement with menstruation leave is guided by an effort to examine the reverberations of colonial power and anticolonial resistance, specifically in their intersections with feminist sensibilities. Furthermore, as part of studying these reverberations, I am invested in illuminating the transcolonial intimacies that were forged in pursuit of gender equality in this context. Therefore, this chapter explores the following: (1) menstruation as a rhetorical device that has traditionally rendered menstruators as Other, (2) menstruation leave as a strategy of resistance that has the potential to enable menstruators to reclaim agency and negotiate access to the public, and (3) the intimacies fostered between American women in the Occupation and Japanese women union leaders as they advocated for menstruation leave and navigated some of the realities of its implementation.

In a way, I, too, am posing the question from the pamphlet that started it all: Is Menstruation Leave Necessary? The process of answering this, however, requires being conscious of the *telling* of menstruation leave. Specifically, I am conscious that I am learning about the reverberations and transcolonial intimacies of menstruation leave through the Mead Smith Karras Papers. Mead Smith Karras was an economist for the Labor Division during the Allied Occupation of Japan. According to the Collection Overview, Karras "worked with the US and Japanese officials to develop and implement Occupation policies on problems affecting women and children in the workforce, such as the organization of a Women's and Minor's Bureau, participation of women in

unions, and enforcement of the Japanese Fair Labor Standards Act."[2] The archival artifacts I engage are part of the curated Karras Papers. In other words, the history I engage is filtered through her lens, through her responsibilities as an individual working for the Occupation, and through the processes of archival curation. In exploring the telling of the story through specific historical artifacts, I focus on how Karras conveys her contributions related to menstruation leave.

I thus engage both the story of menstruation leave as presented in the Karras Papers *and* offer a more complicated telling of the story through the lens of transcolonial intimacies. These separate but inextricable channels are needed to engage the intricacies behind the advocacy and adoption of menstruation leave in Japan. This chapter weaves together various themes—considering menstruation as a rhetoric of containment, the context and significance of menstruation leave within Japan, the solidarities fostered between American women within the Occupation and Japanese women union leaders as they advocated for menstruation leave, and the documents that shape how this movement is remembered—to situate the (telling of) the story of menstruation leave as an act of intimacy.

Menstruation and Rhetorics of Containment

In order to narrate this story of menstruation leave as a touchstone for transcolonial intimacies, it is important to first establish that public discourse about menstruation operates through rhetorics of containment. Although there are some rhetorics of menstruation that are culturally specific—a topic I will discuss in the following

[2] "Mead Smith Karras papers." University of Maryland Libraries Archival Collections, https://archives.lib.umd.edu/repositories/2/resources/1419.

section—there are also some tendencies toward containment which span national and cultural borders. I thus begin by recognizing the legal and historical precedent that links menstruation to the category of "woman" and "women," although it is important to note that not all women menstruate and not all menstruators are women.[3] I use the term "menstruators" to refer to individuals who menstruate, but use women when referring to the ways in which menstruation has impacted the social status of women specifically. I thus interrogate menstruation to examine how menstruators, and women as menstruators, are marginalized precisely because of their menstruating processes. I follow the charge of critical menstruation studies, which Chris Bobel explains is "premised upon menstruation as a category of analysis: asking how systems of power and knowledge are built upon its understanding and, furthermore, who benefits from these social constructions."[4] Furthermore, Linda Steele and Beth Goldblatt define critical menstruation studies as scholarship that draws attention to "the politicized nature of menstruation and explores practices of feminist political activism surrounding menstruation."[5] My effort to tell the story of menstruation leave in post-World War II Japan seeks to similarly understand menstrual rhetorics and related public policy as manifestations of different vectors of power.

Drawing from critical menstruation studies, this project sees menstruation as not only a biological embodied phenomenon, but also as a discourse, or a symbol which

---

[3] Breanne Fahs, "Introduction: Menstruation as Rationale," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 349.
[4] Chris Bobel, "Introduction: Menstruation as Lens - Menstruation as Opportunity," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 3.
[5] Linda Steele and Beth Goldblatt, "The Human Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities: Sterilization and Other Coercive Responses to Menstruation," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 77.

creates our reality.[6] I thus focus on how menstruation relates to power and creates particular realities for women within a given society. First, menstruation is an "unavoidable health-related process" for many across the globe.[7] Inga T. Winkler argues that menstruation works to unite the "personal and the political, the intimate and the public, and the physiological and the socio-cultural."[8] Furthermore, menstruation is observed as a "project to manage properly" as an "essential component of 'doing (feminine) gender.'"[9] Menstruation thus becomes a process of sexualization, self-objectification, and of shame and shaming.[10] To analyze menstruation, then, is to examine and reveal the "inequalities across biological, social cultural, religious, political, and historical dimensions."[11] Situating menstruation within these discourses enables an understanding of how women, as menstruators, are positioned within a given society.

I argue that dominant rhetorics about menstruation serve to contain menstruators by framing them as Other. Mary Douglas famously linked menstruation and women as menstruators to pollution.[12] Ideas of pollution can be read as statements about power relations within a society, as they define what is "matter out of place."[13] People with

---

[6] Kenneth Burke, "Definition of Man," in *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).
[7] Melissa Stone, "Diffractive Menstruation: Toward a Technical-Rhetorical Perspective of Menstrual Health Technologies," *Women's Studies in Communication* 46, no. 3 (July 3, 2023): 312.
[8] Winkler, "Introduction: Menstruation as Fundamental," 9.
[9] Tomi-Ann Roberts, "Introduction: Menstruation as Embodied," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 177.
[10] Roberts, "Introduction: Menstruation as Embodied," 177.
[11] Chris Bobel, "Introduction: Menstruation as Lens - Menstruation as Opportunity," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 4.
[12] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, Routledge Classics (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).
[13] Sophie Laws, *Issues of Blood: The Politics of Menstruation* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990), 36.

certain characteristics become associated with dirtiness—this attitude is often found within dominant groups toward less powerful ones.[14] In regards to menstruation, Bobel explains that the "leaky, liquid, flowing menstruation" is "constructed as a shameful form of pollution that must be contained."[15] Menstruation is consequently understood to be "dirty, disgusting, defiling" and thus "must be hidden."[16] I note that these insights from critical menstruation studies parallel discussions in rhetorical studies about rhetorics of containment. Anjali Vats and Leilani Nishime have defined containment as referring to "discursive strategies that protect the power investments of the status quo through the constraint of Otherness."[17] Kristan Poirot also underscores how how rhetorics of containment can mark "aberrant behaviors, ideals, and actions," separating what is accepted as the norm from what is rejected as the Other.[18] When mensturation is understood as pollution, it similarly becomes something to be contained, functioning symbolically to contain menstruators as a whole, and rendering them as Others.[19]

Menstruation lends itself to such dualisms, including female/male, nature/culture, body/mind, gender/sexuality, and menstruator/nonmenstruator.[20] Such perspectives frame nonmenstruating experiences as "normalized," while the menstruator must take on "corrective measures to obscure their difference."[21] The normative or default body is a

---

[14] Laws, *Issues of Blood*, 36.
[15] Chris Bobel, *New Blood: Third-Wave Feminism and the Politics of Menstruation* (New Brunswick, New Jersey London: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 31.
[16] Iris Marion Young, "Menstrual Meditations," in *On Female Body Experience*, by Iris Marion Young, 1st ed. (Oxford University PressNew York, 2005), 106.
[17] Anjali Vats and LeiLani Nishime, "Containment as Neocolonial Visual Rhetoric: Fashion, Yellowface, and Karl Lagerfeld's 'Idea of China,'" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 99, no. 4 (November 2013): 426.
[18] Kristan Poirot, "Domesticating the Liberated Woman: Containment Rhetorics of Second Wave Radical/Lesbian Feminism," *Women's Studies in Communication* 32, no. 3 (October 2009): 267.
[19] Karrin Vasby Anderson, "'Rhymes with Rich': 'Bitch' as a Tool of Containment in Contemporary American Politics," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2, no. 4 (December 1999): 601.
[20] Stone, "Diffractive Menstruation," 315.
[21] Stone, "Diffractive Menstruation," 315.

body "not bleeding from the vagina."[22] To be normal, menstruators must avoid discussion of their bleeding and must conceal evidence of it.[23] Here we see the ways in which dominant attitudes about menstruation can be used as a justification for containment rhetoric, framing menstruators as Other. Vats and Nishime suggest that the desire to contain cannot be separated from "the drive to purify and the desire to possess Otherness."[24] Menstruators, and women as menstruators, are thus characterized as the unsanitary Other.

Beyond being subjected to rhetorics of containment, menstruators are also urged to practice self-containment in relation to menstrual taboo and menstrual etiquette. The concept of a taboo makes strong distinctions "between the sacred and the profane."[25] The spiritual or metaphysical distinction of a taboo functions to preserve spatial and practical borders and facilitates rules that prevent crossing these borders.[26] The menstrual taboo exacerbates the connection between women and pollution by building false dichotomies of "us-them, good-evil, repressed-emancipated, and risks masking the continuance of menstrunormative constructions that go on around us."[27] Menstrual taboos consequently require the menstruating woman to be "confined, closeted, or kept away" in accordance with "major fault lines of the social system."[28] Menstruators are thus urged to self-contain, to avoid entering and polluting traditional religious and cultural spaces.

---

[22] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 107.
[23] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 107.
[24] Vats and Nishime, "Containment as Neocolonial Visual Rhetoric," 427.
[25] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 112.
[26] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 112.
[27] Josefin Persdotter, "Introducing Menstrunormativity: Toward a Complex Understanding of 'Menstrual Monsterings'," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 366-367.
[28] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 107.

Additionally, menstruators are expected to practice self-containment by adhering to menstrual etiquette. Specifically, menstrual etiquette decrees that "women may not make men aware of the existence of menstruation either in general or in the particular."[29] Of course, the double standard is that while women rarely mention menstruation in public, men will openly attribute women's behavior when they disapprove of it as "the time of the month."[30] Women thus generally avoid drawing attention to their periods in public, out of a sense of shame.[31] Many individuals report feelings of embarrassment when publicly discussing menstruation or feelings of shame when having to request menstrual products.[32] Individuals thus voluntarily seek out privacy, or self-containment, when menstruating.[33] Menstruation becomes relegated to the "domain of the personal and private."[34] But despite such rules, menstruators often lack access to private spaces that would allow them to conceal their condition.[35] Workers and students are expected to perform at the same level when menstruating as when not, precisely because menstrual etiquette forbids any complaints of being unwell.[36] As such, menstruators do their best to "meet expectations under trying circumstances," taking precautions to "keep the evidence of menstruation out of sight and smell, bear silently its strains and discomforts unless they are severe."[37] In return, Iris Marion Young argues that menstruators "expect to earn an equal place among those who command respect."[38] Menstrual etiquette thus

[29] Laws, *Issues of Blood*, 29.
[30] Laws, *Issues of Blood*, 30.
[31] Laws, *Issues of Blood*, 30.
[32] Winkler, "Introduction: Menstruation as Fundamental," 12.
[33] Winkler, "Introduction: Menstruation as Fundamental," 12.
[34] Bobel, *New Blood*, 31.
[35] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 112.
[36] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 116.
[37] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 116.
[38] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 116.

demands menstruators to be "constantly aware" of non-menstruators.[39] They have been forced to adopt practices of self-containment, becoming agents of their own oppression. However, it is not only menstruation that serves as a rhetoric of containment. This chapter will show how menstrual leave can also restrict and limit the menstruator.

Situating Menstrual Self-Containment in Japan

Rhetorics of self-containment apply across the globe but are present in Japan through culturally specific practices such as menstrual taboos and menstrual etiquette. Japanese menstruators have historically been pressured to self-contain because of the association of menstruation with pollution. In ancient times, menstruation was understood to be connected to nature and to *kami* (gods).[40] For example, the Japanese word for menstruation, *gekkei*, can be directly translated to "going around the moon."[41] Other terms historically used for menstruation were also connected to the moon.[42] Despite the connection between menstruation, nature, and gods, the explicit association of menstruation with pollution was codified into law during the Heian Period (794-1185).[43] The *Engi* Code prohibited certain activities "for a person who was polluted or in close contact with a polluted person."[44] Pollution, in this case, is associated with women and their polluting blood at birth and during menstruation; such acts were thought to "defile the land and water and offend the gods."[45] The notion of *gekkei kinki*, menstrual taboo,

[39] Laws, *Issues of Blood*, 30.
[40] Maura Stephens-Chu, "From Sacred to Secret: Tracing Changes in Views of Menstruation in Japan," *Silva Iaponicarum*, no. 60–61 (March 30, 2020): 69.
[41] Stephens-Chu, "From Sacred to Secret," 69.
[42] Stephens-Chu, "From Sacred to Secret," 69.
[43] Stephens-Chu, "From Sacred to Secret," 69.
[44] Stephens-Chu, "From Sacred to Secret," 73.
[45] Stephens-Chu, "From Sacred to Secret," 73.

was thus closely tied to the dirtiness and pollution of menstrual blood.[46] Hikaru Tanaka suggests that bleeding was traditionally associated with death because people knew from experience that blood was related to disease.[47] Furthermore, because women gave birth very frequently, people had less exposure to menstrual blood.[48] It was likely a combination of these beliefs which led to menstrual blood being associated with pollution, and thus with menstrual taboo. Although the menstrual taboo was practiced within palace grounds during the Heian period, the menstrual taboo later spread to the realm of Buddhism and then to the aristocratic class.[49] The menstrual taboo was subsequently incorporated into guidelines to maintain the purity of shrines, and ultimately spread into public society.[50]

As the menstrual taboo became commonplace, practices of menstrual etiquette also took root in Japanese society. During the Muromachi period (1336-1573), menstruators were placed into "birthing huts."[51] These huts were traditionally for giving birth but also became a space to isolate blood from the rest of the community. Menstruators, as bleeding polluters, were thus also contained in these huts. If a community did not have a hut to share, menstruators would eat separately from their families, using a different fire to cook their meals, and would avoid touching the Shinto altar in fear of spreading their pollution.[52] It is worth noting that these experiences of

---

[46] Hikaru Tanaka, *生理用品の社会史 (Social History of Menstrual Products)*, Shohan (Tōkyō: Kadokawa, 2019), 66.
[47] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 72.
[48] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 72.
[49] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 82.
[50] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 82.
[51] Chisako Ono, "布ナプキンを通じた月経観の変容に関する研究 : 「存在する月経」への選択肢を求めて ("A Study on Transformation of Attitudes Toward Menstruation Through the Use of Cloth Sanitary Napkins,)" (同志社大学大学院総合政策科学会, December 20, 2009), 152.
[52] Ono, "A Study on Transformation of Attitudes Toward Menstruation Through the Use of Cloth Sanitary Napkins," 152.

self-containment may have been a place in which menstruators could build their own communities, exchanging information and experiences.[53] These self-containment practices gradually lessened as Japan modernized, particularly as menstruation and reproductive health became explicitly tied to the national agenda.

Menstruation and reproductive health were pulled into the spotlight as Japan began to modernize. From the Edo Period (1603-1867), women were expected to serve society through marriage and childbearing, particularly to increase population growth and stimulate the agricultural economy.[54] The Meiji period (1868-1912) strengthened expectations for women to serve within the home, evident in the rise of the phrase 良妻賢母/*ryosaikenbo,* which directly translates to "good wife, wise mother."[55] However, it was also during this time that Japan adopted the slogan 富国強兵/*fukoku kyōhei* or "fortifying the country, strengthening the military." As a part of this initiative, women were expected to develop a "healthy reproductive body" because giving birth was an integral part of producing strong soldiers and laborers.[56] It was around this time that magazines began circulating articles which explicitly discussed menstruation.[57] Furthermore, as Japanese imperialism strengthened, the pressure for women to give birth to strong healthy babies who would become soldiers became even greater.[58]

---

[53] Ono, "A Study on Transformation of Attitudes Toward Menstruation Through the Use of Cloth Sanitary Napkins," 153.
[54] Sawayama, Mikako [沢山美果子]. *性から読む江戸時代—生活の現場から [The Edo Period Through the Lens of Sex—In Everyday Life]*. Iwanami Shinsho, 2020, 53.
[55] Nagano, Hiroko [長野ひろ子]. *明治維新とジェンダー: 変革期のジェンダー再構築と女性たち [The Meiji Restoration and Gender: Reconstructing Gender and Women in the Transformation Period]*. Akashishoten, 2016, 147.
[56] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 18.
[57] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 18.
[58] Tanaka, *Social History of Menstrual Products*, 32.

The Showa period (1926-1989) was characterized by the rise and fall of Japanese imperialism. During war, women's reproductive processes became directly linked to national service.[59] Women's health became a matter of "national policy and duty," and the ideal woman became one who was "capable of giving birth to healthy children."[60] Thus, women were called upon to serve their family and nation by dedicating their entire body to the cause. A mother's womb became a national resource; a mother's childrearing duty became molding imperial citizens within Japan's "superior national spirit and ideals."[61] Women were thus expected to serve as biological and cultural reproducers, creating potential subjects of the nation while maintaining and protecting the family.[62] Vera Mackie explains that Japan's transformation into a modern industrialized nation-state fostered a particular ideology of familialism, whereby the "family formed a crucial link in the chain of loyalty from subject to emperor," although Japan's surrender and start of the Occupation, altered expectations for women to reproductively serve the nation.[63] Thus, attending to menstruation as rhetorics of containment have revealed the contrasting expectations thrust upon Japanese menstruators: to conceal menstruation when following social norms related to religious

[59] Lee, Helen J. S., "Eating for the Emperor: The Nationalization of Settler Homes and Bodies in the Kōminka Era," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, ed. Michele Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 171.
[60] Lee, Helen J. S., "Eating for the Emperor: The Nationalization of Settler Homes and Bodies in the Kōminka Era," 171.
[61] Lee, Helen J. S., "Eating for the Emperor: The Nationalization of Settler Homes and Bodies in the Kōminka Era," 171.
[62] Kimberly T. Kono, "Imperializing Motherhood: The Education of a 'Manchu Girl' in Colonial Manchuria," in *Reading Colonial Japan*, ed. Michele Mason and Helen Lee (Stanford University Press, 2020), 225.
[63] Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.

and cultural traditions, but to openly embrace menstruation as part of the reproductive process when fulfilling the national agenda.

Attending to menstruation as rhetorics of containment reveals how Japanese women as menstruators have historically been positioned to engage both the private (following practices of menstrual taboos and menstrual etiquette) and the public (serving the nation's demands through reproduction). I argue that they have had their intimate embodied processes pulled into national discourse without consent. The story of menstruation leave I want to tell in this project, then, is one that had the potential to empower Japanese women as menstruators and workers as a way to negotiate public engagement with their bodies. However, my access to archival materials also reveals that the implementation of menstruation leave did not realize all of its potential. Instead, I have found that the more interesting story lies within the shared advocacy between Japanese women and American women. In framing the story of menstruation leave this way, I seek to distance this project from an overdone narrative that paints Japanese women as weak and oppressed. Rather, I explore the topic of menstruation leave as a strategy of resistance that allowed Japanese women to willingly negotiate their entry and withdrawal from the public, particularly within the labor force.

The Potential of Menstruation Leave

Women have historically been disconnected from the labor force. As Nancy Fraser explains, in male dominated, classical capitalist societies, the laborer is a "masculine role."[64] Masculine identity is tied to the breadwinner role, to leaving home each day for

[64] Nancy Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory? The Case of Habermas and Gender," *New German Critique*, no. 35 (1985): 42.

paid work and returning with a wage that provides for one's dependents.[65] Capitalist societies thus foster an "internal relation between being a man and being a provider."[66] The differences in the quality of "women's presence in the paid workplace" further reveal the "conceptual dissonance" between femininity and the laborer.[67] Women are thus already disadvantaged when it comes to accessing labor, and are further restricted from practicing labor because of menstruation. Menstrual cycles have traditionally been expected to conform to the norms of organizations and corporations.[68] Women have thus been contained, forced to abide by specific criteria to maintain their laboring rights. For example, menstruators have had to fit into a workplace by using menstrual health technologies and participating in menstrual practices which were "deemed appropriate by managers, supervisors, and owners of businesses."[69] Menstruation, then, has been used to contain women within the labor force.

However, menstruation leave policies have the potential to empower women to reimagine labor rights. Rachel B. Levitt and Jessica L. Barnack-Tavlaris define menstruation leave as allowing a menstruator to "take time off if they are unable to attend work due to menstruation."[70] Menstruation leave advocates argue that it can benefit the health of individuals who menstruate, including those who experience discomfort from menstruation and those who experience menstrual cycle-related

[65] Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory?," 42.
[66] Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory?," 42.
[67] Fraser, "What's Critical about Critical Theory?," 43.
[68] Stone, "Diffractive Menstruation," 322.
[69] Stone, "Diffractive Menstruation," 322.
[70] Rachel B. Levitt and Jessica L. Barnack-Tavlaris, "Addressing Menstruation in the Workplace: The Menstrual Leave Debate," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, ed. Chris Bobel et al. (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 561.

illnesses.[71] Alice Dan explains that menstruation leave in Japan is permitted for any woman worker under either of two conditions: (1) if the worker suffers heavily from menstruation, making it hard for her to work, or (2) if the work itself is injurious to her body during menstruation.[72] However, there is no specification on the number of days or whether the leave is to be paid.[73]

Feminist movements in Japan led to the proposal of menstruation leave. During the late nineteenth century, the dissemination of liberal ideas led to the first explicit theorizations of feminism in Japan.[74] Some women began exploring the meanings of individualism for women and the active expression of women's sexuality.[75] These "New Women" challenged the dilemmas which faced heterosexually active women and debated issues of reproductive control.[76] This was also a time in which women were contained, excluded from political participation because their bodies were associated with reproduction, sexuality, and impurity, things that simply did not belong in public spaces of political discussion.[77] In response, the "New Women" brought discussions of the female reproductive body "into the public sphere."[78] These "New Women" were thus engaging in strategies of un-containment by publicly sharing stories of their experiences with pregnancy and childbirth, and through open discussions of their sexual feelings and

[71] Levitt and Barnack-Tavlaris, "Addressing Menstruation in the Workplace: The Menstrual Leave Debate," 566.
[72] Alice J. Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies: The Case of Menstruation Leave in Japan," *Health Care for Women International* 7, no. 1–2 (January 1986): 1.
[73] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 1.
[74] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 3.
[75] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 3.
[76] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 4.
[77] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 233.
[78] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 233.

experiences.[79] The push for menstruation leave can be traced to the feminist sensibilities nurtured through these early social movements.

Menstruation leave as it currently exists in Japan was supported as part of the Labor Standards Law passed in 1947 under the American Occupation.[80] Article 68 titled "Measures for Women Who Find It Extremely Difficult to Work on Days of Their Menstrual Periods," notes that "If a woman who finds it to be extremely difficult to work on a day of her menstrual period requests leave, the employer must not make her work on a day of her menstrual period."[81] The point on menstruation leave was created because Americans were "scandalized" by working conditions for some groups of women, particularly in factories and mines.[82] However, this is far from a simple narrative of western agents emancipating Japanese women, as Japanese women had advocated for menstruation leave long before the Americans began urging for the policy during the Occupation. The first call for menstruation leave was led by women conductors on Tokyo public transport in July 1928.[83] During this time, menstruation leave was a point of popular discourse in Japan, as employed women were mostly young and working conditions for them were difficult.[84] That is, because the majority of women workers were under 21 and unmarried, they were more likely to express the need for menstruation leave over maternity leave.[85] The lack of adequate sanitary facilities and materials for factory and transportation workers spurred the activism for

---

[79] Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 233.
[80] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 8.
[81] "Labor Standards Act, Act No. 49 of April 7, 1947." English translation from *Japanese law Translation Database,* an initiative under the Ministry of Justice to make the law more accessible.
[82] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 8.
[83] Sakurai Kinue, *Bosei Hogo Und*ōshi (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1987), 56-59. Quoted in Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 84.
[84] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 7.
[85] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 7.

menstruation leave.[86] It thus became a "symbol for women's emancipation" because it represented women speaking openly about their bodies and gaining social recognition for their role as laborers.[87] But how was menstruation leave practiced across Japan, and was it really a liberatory policy? And how do the Mead Smith Karras Papers lend insight about menstrual leave activism as a site of transcolonial intimacies and coalition-building? The following section pivots into the telling of the story, tracing the contents and contexts of the artifacts that communicate a narrative of how menstruation leave was adopted into Japanese society.

Tracing and Speculating Through the Mead Smith Karras Papers

The story of menstruation leave and the telling of the story of menstruation leave engage two different registers of intimacy. First, as illustrated in the sections above, the story of menstruation leave is concerned with menstruation, which is a deeply personal process concerned with the inner workings of one's body. Menstruation is also rendered intimate through its confidentiality, as menstruators have traditionally been expected to practice self-containment. A second register of intimacy is observed within the Karras Papers, which are a compilation of Karras's meeting memos, reports, and samples of her work. These items collectively tell a story of the negotiation and adoption of menstruation leave in Occupied Japan. They also illustrate the transcolonial intimacies between Karras and the Japanese women whom she worked with. Finally, although not directly related to intimacy perse, I tell the story of Karras's telling of the story.

[86] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 8.
[87] Dan, "The Law and Women's Bodies," 8.

My examination of Karras is a complicated endeavor. Earlier in this chapter I noted that I would be drawing primarily from artifacts in the Mead Smith Karras Papers housed in the Gordon W. Prange Collection as the basis of my analysis. The Karras Papers are an invaluable resource for telling the story of how menstruation leave was adopted in post-World War II Japan. Specifically, the artifacts within the collection reveal feminist coalitions fostered between American and Japanese women working under the American Occupation, as well as Japanese women union leaders. I am particularly interested in how transcolonial intimacies led to the promotion and implementation of menstruation leave across Japan. However, I recognize that this exploration necessitates a reckoning with the archival artifacts I am working with.

To begin, a majority of the Karras Papers are documents from Mead Smith Karras's time with the Women and Minor's Bureau. As an economist for the Labor Division, Karras was tasked with working with both US and Japanese officials to develop and implement Occupation policies on problems affecting women and children in the labor force.[88] The documents in the Karras Papers, then, are primarily memos of record from meetings, compilations of labor statistics, and press releases. These documents were for those involved within the Occupation's bureaucracy, including Karras's team and supervisors. In other words, the audience of these work documents were likely other Americans involved in the Occupation. Reading through Karras's documents thus reveals the structures of power within which she operated and contributed to.[89]

[88] "Mead Smith Karras papers." University of Maryland Libraries Archival Collections, https://archives.lib.umd.edu/repositories/2/resources/1419.
[89] Stoler, *Duress*.

Although I seek to illuminate transcolonial intimacies cultivated between Karras and Japanese women in their shared pursuit of gender equality, I am aware of how the Karras papers only offer one side of the story. Put differently, the Karras papers are not a direct reflection of the Japanese women's voices. In fact, whenever their thoughts are present in the archive, they are filtered through Karras. To examine texts across lines of power thus requires some speculation about what is excluded from the archive. These exclusions may not have been intentional. I consider the language barrier that existed between Karras and the Japanese women she worked with, particularly as they navigated complex issues about gender and about the labor force. I also think of how Karras, despite being a strong economist, did not share first-hand experiences of being a woman in Japan. Furthermore, the Japanese women Karras worked with were likely those with access to higher levels of education because they could speak English. Meanwhile, the Japanese women who were the primary subject of the Women and Minor's Bureau, those working in the factories in the countryside, were likely of a lower social class. Speculation thus becomes method, as I imagine what is excluded from this archive. Every photo I have taken of the artifacts, and every note I scrawled into my notebook is accompanied by my imagination of what might have been. The transcolonial intimacies I explore are thus accessed through Karras and supplemented by my speculations.

My engagement with the Karras Papers was guided by Mari Lee Mifsud's theorization of a feminist praxis of comparative rhetoric. Mifsud combines a comparative orientation, which "imposes a conceptual framework on and of the

Other,"[90] with a feminist praxis of "decolonizing and decentering knowledge and meaning through reflexivity."[91] In doing so, Mifsud offers a critical orientation toward doing comparative rhetoric, one which requires the rhetorical critic to decenter themselves and to "tell of the telling of the telling of the story."[92] Drawing on this approach, I must consider positionality. First, as a Japanese woman who has learned about feminism in the US academy, I am conscious of my biases when approaching historical materials that require me to read against the archival grain. As noted above, the Karras papers offer a collection of documents that primarily filter the narrative of menstruation leave through a white American woman's point of view. Some texts thus require me to unsettle her dominant voice and, instead, search for and uplift the hidden voices of Japanese women. However, my US-centric experiences also orient me towards Karras, trying to understand her perspective in historical context. I thus draw from Mifsud, reflecting on my role as the rhetorical critic to use my own subject position "via the rhetorical wedge of the self" as the point of "exploration, analysis, and critique first."[93] While trying to enact this self-reflexivity, I also note that the Karras Papers offer evidence that Karras, too, was seeking to enact such self-reflexivity in her telling of the story of menstruation leave.

A cursory read of the Karras Papers suggest that the pursuit of gender equality in post-World War II Japan was a comparative endeavor, as the archival narrative demonstrates how Karras compared US feminist advances to the ongoing oppression of

---

[90] Mifsud, Mari Lee, "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric," in *The Routledge Handbook of Comparative World Rhetorics: Studies in the History, Application, and Teaching of Rhetoric beyond Traditional Greco-Roman Contexts*, ed. Keith Lloyd (New York, NY: Routledge, 2021), 306.
[91] Mifsud, Mari Lee, "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric," 308.
[92] Mifsud, Mari Lee, "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric," 308.
[93] Mifsud, Mari Lee, "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric," 308.

Japanese women. However, a more speculative entry reveals that Karras wrestled with a self-reflexive approach to telling the story of menstruation leave. The dominant sentiment of the time was one in which American women, through the work of the Women and Minor's Bureau, would liberate Japanese women. However, this comparative thinking was founded on binary epistemologies of self and Other, and could easily be a "method to enact violence on others, colonize knowledge, and fail to recognize inequitable systems and experiences of power in the production of what we consider knowledge of rhetoric as well as in the praxis of rhetoric."[94] However, I suggest that in recording and compiling documents to report on menstruation leave, Karras attempted to use her "wedge of self" as a point of self-reflexivity.[95] The artifacts I draw on from the Karras Papers include photographs, inspiring me to use a visual metaphor to understand how Karras reckoned with her own position and limitations within her collection of artifacts: she shifted "in-" and "out-of-focus." Specifically, within Karras's *telling* of the story of menstruation leave, she is sometimes "in-focus" or centering self-reflexivity to understand her limitations and uplift Japanese women's voices. At other times, Karras is "out-of-focus" or embodying traditional narratives of white feminism that eclipse Japanese women's experiences. I illuminate transcolonial intimacies between American women and Japanese women by applying this visual metaphor to Karras's records, her documents and photographs that capture her making sense of Japanese women as shared partners in the pursuit of gender equality.

[94] Mifsud, Mari Lee, "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric," 306-307.
[95] Mifsud, Mari Lee, "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric," 308.

An Imbalanced Alliance

To understand Karras's telling of the story of menstruation leave, and to grapple with the complexities of her self-reflexivity within this telling, I seek to outline the structures of power constituting transcolonial intimacies between American women and Japanese women in post-World War II Japan. This section thus interrogates how the pressures of the Occupation worked in tandem with white feminist sensibilities to construct a specific narrative focused on liberating Japanese women. I then place the Karras papers in conversation with this narrative, locating moments in which Karras brings herself "in-focus" and "out-of-focus" to negotiate the dynamics of transcolonial intimacies.

I begin by engaging the multiple vectors of power that contextualize the so-called liberation of Japanese women, drawing from the questions Mire Koikari poses in her essay, "Exporting Democracy?: American Women, 'Feminist Reforms,' and Politics of Imperialisms in the US Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952."[96] Here, Koikari asks the following:

> Were the US women truly the liberators who were unaffected by, or even outside of, unequal power relations inherent in foreign military interventions? Or, was the US women's involvement in gender reform efforts compromised by the power hierarchy that existed between the victor/occupier and the defeated/occupied? Or, were the occupier's reform efforts in fact enabled or facilitated by those very power inequalities between the two nations?[97]

These questions open the door toward a critical examination of the American women who advocated for gender equality in Japan. Furthermore, I argue that these are the same questions Karras reckoned with as she advocated for menstruation leave alongside

[96] Mire Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?: American Women, Feminist Reforms, and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupaton of Japan, 1945-1952," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 1 (2002): 23–45.
[97] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 25.

Japanese women. I thus situate the self-reflexivity Karras demonstrated as an act of defiance, as one form of resistance against the agendas defined by the Occupation, and against the politics of white feminism.

From the start, the goal to "liberate" Japanese women was central to Occupation rhetorics. MacArthur had the "enfranchisement of women" at the top of his Five Great Reforms.[98] This was directly tied to the SCAP's efforts to democratize the nation.[99] As such, two major reforms were initiated immediately after the arrival of the Occupation forces in Japan: women's suffrage and constitutional revision.[100] The constitutional revision was specifically an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in the Japanese constitution.[101] These measures were put forth without much involvement from the Japanese people themselves, despite the fact that Japanese women had been fighting for the right to vote in prewar Japan.[102] The Occupation was thus invested in liberating Japanese women, but as evidenced by the exclusion of Japanese women throughout the process, these policies were not *for* Japanese women. Rather, as Lisa Yoneyama argues, the Occupation was motivated to grant constitutional rights to Japanese women to obscure Occupied Japan as "a space of unfreedom, a place of nonrights" and to "[mask] the paradox of its simultaneous violence and benevolence."[103] Consequently, Japanese

[98] Lisa Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," 2024.
[99] Michiko Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection: American Occupationnaire Women and Socialist Feminism in US Occupied Japan, 1945–1952," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 38, no. 2 (2017): 114.
[100] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 28.
[101] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 29.
[102] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 29.
[103] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 899.

women's enfranchisement was a crucial component of American self-image, military and political aspirations, and political and moral supremacy.[104]

The image of Japanese women as a population in desperate need of saving was manufactured by the US policymakers. Even before Japan's official surrender, as US policymakers began to anticipate Japan's defeat, they began representing Japanese women as "victims of the male-dominant military state."[105] This rhetoric was a useful tool to differentiate Japanese women from Japanese men, as it was the Japanese men who were "singularly made to bear the burden of evil."[106] The Occupation authorities thus encouraged and at times "actively propagated the view of Japanese women as exclusively victims of Japanese men and traditional gender norms."[107] Specifically, the Occupation force perceived Japanese women as "helpless victims who had been subjugated under centuries-old chauvinistic culture and tradition."[108] I later analyze how Karras, as part of the Occupation government, participates in the dissemination of such views. These efforts served to discursively constitute Japanese women as "passive victims of male-dominated militarism and devastations of war who were liberated as a result of the nation's defeat and the postwar occupation."[109] The framing of Japanese women as victims was conducive to white feminist politics, which guided the solidarities formed between American women and Japanese women post-World War II.

Occupation initiatives to portray Japanese women as a liberation project merged well with white feminist impulses to liberate women of color. Contemporary critiques of

---

[104] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 899.
[105] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 892.
[106] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 892.
[107] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 892.
[108] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 24.
[109] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 892.

US-based white feminism offer conceptual language to help explain the portrayal of Japanese women during the Occupation. As Ashwini Tambe and Millie Thayer explain, US feminism has traditionally centered white women's perspectives and adopted a "salvationist approach to women in other parts of the world."[110] Under white feminism the experiences of women of color, in this case Japanese women, are automatically coded as "valueless" and the people associated with that experiences themselves are "devalued."[111] Hegemony protects itself in this way, by "silencing and punishing difference by stripping away its legitimacy."[112] During the Occupation, this manifested as American women presenting the ideal gender relationship based on their own experiences of American white, middle-class norms.[113] American women concealed gender, race, and class-based inequalities that were present in the US to enable an American assertion of cultural superiority and dominance.[114]

The flattening of intersectional issues into gender, specifically the assumption that "all women see gender as the most essential or primary identity marker that informs their oppression" is an overarching characteristic of white feminism.[115] This "gender-only narrative" has traditionally "dominated mainstream feminism," enabling a structure in which white women carry the right to speak for all women.[116] In fact, Rafia Zakaria explains that women of color are only allowed to speak when she can embody the "tone and language" of white women to ultimately adopt the "priorities, causes, and arguments

---

[110] Ashwini Tambe and Millie Thayer, eds., *Transnational Feminist Itineraries: Situating Theory and Activist Practice*, Next Wave (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021), 13-14.
[111] Rafia Zakaria, *Against White Feminism: Notes on Disruption.* (New York: W W Norton, 2022), 16.
[112] Zakaria, *Against White Feminism*, 16.
[113] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 36.
[114] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 36.
[115] Meredith Neville-Shepard, "'Better Never Means Better for Everyone': White Feminist Necropolitics and Hulu's *The Handmaid's Tale*," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 109, no. 1 (January 2, 2023): 5.
[116] Zakaria, *Against White Feminism*, 16.

of whiteness."[117] In white feminism, the voices belonging to women of color are thus rendered silent. Put differently, as Kyla Schuller notes, white feminism creates an environment in which "the differences among the various groups who gather under the feminist umbrella are often ignored, buried under the reductive idea that feminism simply means endorsing equality between the sexes."[118] The complexities that contextualize the experiences of women of color are consequently sidelined. In this case, centuries of historical and cultural traditions contextualizing the experiences of Japanese women as imperial subjects were reduced to promote a narrative of white saviorism.

The Occupation agenda and white feminist politics outlined above reinforce colonial epistemologies and practice. Koikari frames the Occupation of Japan as "an instance of imperialism imbued with power and domination."[119] The American women who were part of the Occupation force thus played "extremely complex and problematic roles similar to those played by European colonial women."[120] The US efforts to liberate Japanese women were fundamentally motivated by the "imperial power dynamics" which transpired between Japan and the US.[121] The reform efforts led by American women in Occupied Japan thus served to reinforce the notion of a "superior West" in relation to "inferior non-Western Others."[122] Because Western women have historically seen non-Western women as "helpless victims without agency who were mired in premodern and uncivilized tradition," the reform projects led by Western women have functioned to "disseminate Western values and customs among the indigenous

[117] Zakaria, *Against White Feminism*, 17.
[118] Kyla Schuller, *The Trouble with White Women: A Counterhistory of Feminism*, First edition (New York: Bold Type Books, 2021), 18.
[119] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 25.
[120] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 25.
[121] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 25.
[122] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 38.

population, which helped reinforce the West's domination through acculturation."[123] The American women's white feminist politics in Japan followed a similar trajectory. Their self-image as "feminist agents endowed with progressive and modern gender ideology and practice" fed their self-appointed responsibility to liberate Japanese women. More explicitly, Yoneyama notes that the cultural logic positioning the West as the "normative site of democratic rights and emancipation" is linked to feminist universalism.[124] These narratives were underscored by MacArthur's statements that the Occupation would give the Japanese people "unprecedented opportunity for civilization and enlightenment."[125] US-led policies implemented under the Occupation, including any reforms led by American women, were thus framed as "the best examples of the occupier's noble intention to uplift the uncivilized race." [126] Such rhetoric reinforced the colonial and imperial paradigms of Western superiority and non-Western inferiority.[127]

While ideological and structural pressures created imbalances of power between American women and Japanese women, I recognize that policy alliances were necessary between the two groups. Specifically, American women in Occupied Japan actively mobilized Japanese upper- and middle-class women for consultation and policy planning from the onset of the Occupation.[128] Because American women did not speak Japanese or understand Japanese history or culture, they relied on Japanese women to serve as advisors.[129] A "de facto women's policy alliance" was thus formed during the

[123] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 27.
[124] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women's Enfranchisement," 899.
[125] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 23.
[126] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 24.
[127] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 32.
[128] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 33.
[129] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 118-119.

Occupation.[130] However, it is important to note that this alliance was influenced by intersecting structures of power. Colonial and imperial systems of thought paired with white feminist politics created a familiar dynamic in which the Western American women were positioned above the non-Western Japanese women. It was the American women who had final say on draft policies before submission to their supervisors.[131] In other words, it was the voices of American women which were most reflected in the measures passed to serve Japanese women.

One example of the strength of American women's voices in Occupied Japan is observed within the passing of the ERA. The policy alliances formed between American and Japanese women were, in part, extensions of conversations occurring in the US. Michiko Takeuchi explains that the ERA, which stressed the sameness and equality of the sexes, was first introduced to US Congress in 1923 by the National Women's Party and was fiercely opposed by women labor activists and leftists who would later be known as the Old Lefts.[132] The American debate between equality and protection was thus "transplanted" into Occupation feminism.[133] The decision for American women to immediately pursue labor related policy in Japan can be at least partly be attributed to how many US feminists have traditionally believed that "women's autonomy is enhanced by wage labor."[134] For such US feminists, gender equality has meant "advancing individual women up the corporate ladder" and fighting for "the full political and economic advantages that wealthy white men enjoy within the capitalist empire."[135]

---

[130] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 114.
[131] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 129.
[132] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 115.
[133] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 115.
[134] Laura Briggs, *Transnational*, ed. Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth (Oxford University Press, 2015), 994-995.
[135] Schuller, *The Trouble with White Women*, 21-22.

However, another factor undergirding the push for the ERA in Japan, as explained by Takeuchi, is the friendships that were cultivated between the American Old Left and Japanese Women following World War I.[136] These friendships and values echoed into feminist movements under the American Occupation, leading American women and Japanese women post-World War II to advocate for protective labor legislation and the establishment of a Women's Bureau.[137] The policy alliances between American women and Japanese women under the Occupation were thus an extension of decades of activism. [138] I highlight complexities of the imbalanced policy alliances between American and Japanese women to contextualize tensions within the advocacy for menstruation leave. Karras's records tell the story of menstruation leave within a period marked by the paternalistic gaze of the Occupation, salvationist agenda of American women, history of transnational feminist exchange, and rupture of empire. Therefore, I explore the Karras Papers to trace how Karras communicates such complexities—the messy context and vast possibilities of transcolonial intimacies—by bringing herself "in-focus" and "out-of-focus."

Advancing the Occupation Agenda

Before we can get to the specifics of menstrual leave advocacy, it is necessary to explore how Karras was an economist for the Occupation working closely with Japanese women union leaders, thus navigating the sometimes-conflicting interests of multiple stakeholders. While Karras was certainly invested in creating policies that served gender equality, she was also bound by structures of power, namely the overarching Occupation

[136] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 116.
[137] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 115.
[138] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 124.

agenda. There are thus moments in the Karras Papers, in the documents spanning her time in Japan, that demonstrate how Karras was a channel through which the Occupation agenda was enforced. In other words, these are moments in which Karras herself was brought out-of-focus in favor of MacArthur and his plans to civilize and democratize Japan. In this section, I weave between several different documents which illustrate Karras's work in service of the Occupation with the goal of illuminating her behind-the-scenes labor. Put differently, I seek to highlight how Karras labored behind-the-scenes to uplift MacArthur's stated plans for the liberation of Japanese women.

Karras worked to reinforce the image of Japanese women as helpless victims of the outdated Japanese patriarchy. She was particularly involved with Japanese women in relation to labor and was a fierce advocate for their unionization. Through her capacity as an economist, Karras publicly discussed the progress Japanese women were making to unionize. In a document titled, "Women's Sections of Trade Unions," which was set for release at a Japanese press conference on March 11, 1949, Karras wrote that Japanese women were "[handicapped] by centuries of inequality" and "faced the additional difficulty of a tradition that women who work are inferior beings."[139] Furthermore, Karras explained that Japanese women were challenged by "her long-taught belief that she is inferior and her hesitancy to put herself forward in groups composed of both men and women."[140] Karras thus portrayed Japanese women as helpless victims, which was a narrative advanced by the Occupation forces. Karras also advanced this image of Japanese women in written work meant for US audiences,

[139] Mead Smith, Typed press conference script titled "Women's Section of Trade Unions - For release at Japanese press conference, 1100 hours, 11 March 1949, Radio Tokyo Building, Tokyo." Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[140] Ibid.

particularly through an article she wrote for the National Women's Trade Union League of America: Life and Labor Bulletin published in December 1948. In this article, Karras wrote:

> With the help of new legislation and the development of an active union movement, Japanese women workers already have made great strides toward overcoming handicaps inherited from centuries of feudalism. Women workers in pre-war and wartime Japan faced a combination of factors which put them at the bottom of the economic and social scale. As workers their position was degraded, with almost no union movement, non-enforcement of what meager labor legislation existed, and a deeply-ingrained paternalistic relationship between worker and employer. As women they were regarded as inferior and had no legal civic rights.[141]

The public messaging Karras engaged in was thus geared toward portraying Japanese women as a group in desperate need of American assistance. This rhetoric worked to construct the image of the Japanese as the "racially inferior Other," who was so inferior that they could not even support the women of their nation.[142] Karras thus framed the Occupation, and her role within it, as fulfilling this need.

Karras also assisted the Japanese women's unionization efforts. It is worth noting that throughout the materials in the Karras Papers, she rarely credits herself, instead casting the spotlight on the Occupation as a whole. In fact, the only document I found in which Karras explicitly mentions her own efforts is within the "Report Submitted for Economist Examination." In this report, Karras details her accomplishments, writing that "the development of the Japanese Women's and Minors' Bureau and its program for women and minors in industry represents my best work as an economist to date."[143] I

---

[141] Mead Smith, National Women's Trade Union League of America: Life and Labor Bulletin (No. 97, December 1948). Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[142] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 26.
[143] Mead Smith, Report Submitted for Economist Examination. Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA. Hereafter cited as Karras Papers, Prange Collection in shortened citations.

find Karras's emphasis on this being her "best work" to be a subtle act of feminist resistance against a government system, SCAP, which placed much value on their proclaimed agenda for women's "liberation" but cared very little in the investment of such programs.[144] Karras further notes, "in conformity to the Occupation policy of operating through Japanese officials, my economic work reached its fruition in the action of the Government agency for which I was responsible."[145] This report thus illustrates how Karras successfully established the Women's and Minors' Bureau, and followed Occupation policy by assigning Japanese women to lead the Bureau's activities while supporting and overseeing their initiatives. Within the report Karras details how "continuous supervisions of an extremely detailed nature was carried out."[146] The specifics of this supervision lie in "the research, information, and liaison techniques," as well as the "execution of the most fundamental administrative problems of organization, planning, training, and allocation of duties."[147] But perhaps most important is what Karras writes in relation to personnel structure, namely "ensuring that the central staff gave proper training and guidance to the local personnel over whom it had jurisdiction and who looked to the central Bureau for instruction."[148] This line reveals the bureaucratic hierarchies which existed within Karras's chain of command. She, alongside other members of the Occupation forces, were responsible for conferences with the Bureau and Japanese individuals serving as Section Chiefs. Furthermore, Karras

[144] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 33.
[145] Mead Smith, Report Submitted for Economist Examination. Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[146] Mead Smith, Report Submitted for Economist Examination. Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[147] Mead Smith, Report Submitted for Economist Examination. Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[148] Mead Smith, Report Submitted for Economist Examination. Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.

also made visits to field representatives who worked across the country to "ascertain the effectiveness of instructions from the central Bureau and to discover the difficulties, misunderstandings, and progress of the local staff."[149] The report Karras submitted thus details the groundwork of what occurred to support the Occupation agenda. Put differently, this report is comprehensive evidence of Karras's behind-the-scenes work to create a bureau and communication structure that manifested the Occupation's stated goal to liberate Japanese women.

Karras also supported Japanese women through the information she shared about American women's unions. One exchange between Karras and a Japanese women's magazine is particularly noteworthy. Karras's co-worker Miss Stauder received a memo from Frances Karras of the Press and Publications section under the Civil Information and Education Division (CIE). The memo read as follows: "These are the questions I spoke to you about on the phone earlier this afternoon. 'Fujin Gako' is one of the better magazines, with a large circulation, and we would like to help them out if possible."[150] From this memo, I infer that the Occupation was invested in controlling their own image as staunch supporters of Japanese women's liberation. The exchange of information Karras participated in was thus urged, if not required, by the CIE. This memo, then, is reflective of the bureaucratic constraints that bound Karras as a member of the Occupation forces. As an economist working for the Occupation, Karras was expected to

[149] Mead Smith, Report Submitted for Economist Examination. Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[150] Correspondence from Frances Smith (Press and Publications, CI+E) to Miss Stauder, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

participate in cultivating a positive image of the Occupation forces and their work with Japanese women.

The questions from *Fujin Gako* were posed by the editor, Tatsuo Kumaido. In the opening paragraph of the inquiry, Kumaido wrote, "It is our greatest desire to receive the following information to get an idea of the social life and status of an average American business [woman] for we believe this information will be of great help in promoting the present social status of the large number of Japanese business women."[151] Kumaido was thus interested in learning about American women, considering information about their lives to be a useful guide for the Japanese women who were still attempting to navigate the labor force in post-World War II Japan. The questions Kumaido posed were primarily centered around the type of work American women engaged in, their wages, and their experiences negotiating duties of housewife and businesswoman. Karras was tasked with responding to these questions, which she did line-by-line.

Karras began her response with a disclaimer, that "it is essential to keep in mind that, in general, no exact answer can be given to many of these questions. The American woman is very much of an individual, solving her own problems individually, and therefore does not provide particularly good material for generalizations about herself, her working life, or her personal life."[152] That being said, Karras delved into detailed explanations about the ways in which American women find jobs through a vocational

[151] Correspondence from Tatsuo Kumaido, Editor in Chief of *Fujin Gako*, addressed to "Dear Sir," Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[152] Correspondence from Mead Smith answering questions proposed by Tatsuo Kumaido, the Editor in Chief of *Fujin Gako*, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, University of Maryland, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA.

guidance office or through organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and church; the different wage structures in Japan and the US, comparing how Japanese wages are based on the number of dependents, the age of the worker, and the education of the worker, while US wages are based on the basis of the job itself; and the legal protections established for women in the US including hours a woman can work and sick leave.[153] Karras's responses can thus be read an one instance in which American women, under the guidance of the Occupation, are teaching the Japanese public how to liberate their women by comparison.

Karras's response situated American women as the standard. She explains that the situations Kumaido asks about "existed in the US some 50 or so years ago. However, the unceasing effort of forward-looking women to obtain equality of education as well as equality of opportunity, couple with the large-scale employment of women during World War I, has served to change this situation substantially."[154] Here, Karras can be interpreted to be framing American women as "feminist agents endowed with progressive and modern gender ideology and practice."[155] Karras is strategically placing American women as more advanced than the Japanese women, who were trapped in a "premodern and uncivilized tradition."[156] This rhetoric is particularly present within Karras's answer to Kumaido about whether American women find it difficult to fulfill both the roles of housewife and business woman at the same time. Karras explains that

[153] Correspondence from Mead Smith answering questions proposed by Tatsuo Kumaido, the Editor in Chief of *Fujin Gako*, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[154] Correspondence from Mead Smith answering questions proposed by Tatsuo Kumaido, the Editor in Chief of *Fujin Gako*, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[155] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 27.
[156] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?" 27.

such maintenance is difficult anywhere in the world but "Fortunately for American women, they have fewer problems in obtaining the basic necessities of life than do the Japanese women."[157] This response thus reinforces the understanding that the West is superior, that Japan is a non-Western country in need of the helping hand offered by the American Occupation.

Finally, Karras's records portray the Japanese women as willing students, an image that aligned with American efforts to illustrate the Japanese public as a population wanting to be democratized. The Occupation agenda was motivated by an effort to mask its capacities to strip the Japanese of their freedoms and rights, to distract from the violence lining their militaristic and imperialistic efforts.[158] Therefore, Karras often described the Japanese women as driven and active participants in their own liberation. In her article submission to the National Women's Trade Union League of America, Karras wrote that the Japanese women show "great eagerness to learn democracy but a groping as to how to put it into practice…from the early days of the Occupation."[159] By situating the Japanese women as having passion and agency for their own liberation holds them accountable in questions of consent. In other words, the Japanese women are used to paint the Occupation as a desired opportunity.

While Karras's records demonstrate how she labored as an economist in Occupied Japan in support of MacArthur's proposals, I do recognize that her words

---

[157] Correspondence from Mead Smith answering questions proposed by Tatsuo Kumaido, the Editor in Chief of *Fujin Gako*, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, University of Maryland, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[158] Yoneyama, "Liberation under Siege," 899.
[159] Mead Smith, Article titled "Women Unionists in Postwar Japan" published in the National Women's Trade Union League of America: Life and Labor Bulletin (No. 97, December 1948), Box 1, Folder 6, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

reflect a complicated truth. Specifically, Karras's choice to frame Japanese women as needing liberation and as willing students of democracy, and the use of American women as role models for this feminist progress, is not entirely Occupation propaganda. In fact, Japanese women were genuinely invested in women's suffrage, equal job opportunities, and equal wages, all of which were addressed under the Occupation. When Karras later returned to the US, she received dozens of letters from Japanese women across the country. These were women that Karras had helped through field trips and lectures during her tenure. One letter from the women of Kochi City addressed to Karras expressed sadness about her departure. They wrote, "To lose a person is like an infant being separated from her dear mother's hand, which I should say is a very sad case."[160] I argue that this letter, particularly the use of this familial metaphor, explicitly addresses the transcolonial intimacies forged between Karras and the Japanese women in their collective fight for gender equality. Specifically, the familial metaphor suggests that the Japanese women saw Karras as not only an ally, but as sharing a close intimate relationship—like a mother. Thus, Japanese women, particularly those involved in the movement for gender equality in the labor force, largely saw and accepted Karras as their appointed 'leader.' To recognize this exchange is to understand Karras's position as a nuanced one. Karras was an agent of the Occupation, and as these instances have demonstrated, she was bound to reinforcing the Occupation agenda. These were the moments in which Karras was out-of-focus, rendered a vessel for advancing MacArthur's stated goals. Karras was also a beacon of hope for Japanese women fighting for gender equality in the labor force. The knowledge Karras shared with

[160] Correspondence from the women of Kochi City to Mead Smith, Box 3, Folder 1, Series 4, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

Japanese women enabled their unionization. Both of these points are true, which underscore the complicated position Karras occupied in Occupied Japan. She was placed between the Occupation bureaucracy and Japanese women on the ground, tasked with negotiating communication across these lines.

There are a series of photos, from a photo album housed in the Karras Papers, which lend insight into Karras's struggle to navigate Occupation ideology while working closely with Japanese women union leaders. One photo captures Karras as she speaks seemingly alone on a stage to approximately fifty women in the audience. The photo looks like it has been taken in a public-school gym, although it may be a public auditorium of some sort. The camera catches Karras from behind as she speaks into a microphone, and the serious faces of the women in the audience can be seen. The women in the photo are young, I am even tempted to call some of them girls. Most are looking intently at Karras, although they likely cannot understand English and must rely on the interpreter. They are probably workers who are contracted to a factory in the city Karras and her peers are visiting, in an effort to conduct fieldwork. I stare at this image and wonder if these women, girls, have volunteered to be there. They are probably wearing their best clothes, giving up either their work time or their break time to listen to Karras, to learn about unionization, equal job opportunities, and equal wages. While Karras's face is not visible in this photo, she is in-focus. This is representative, I think, of how Karras was positioned under the Occupation. Despite being an agent of the Occupation, she was closely interacting with Japanese women who were part of the labor force. All of the women were looking at her, she was their *de facto* leader. And through this proximity, I suggest that Karras nurtured transcolonial intimacies with

Japanese women advocating for gender equality. In other words, Karras came to resist images of Japanese women as the lesser Other, perceiving them as a shared ally in the fight for gender equality instead.

Revising Menstruation Leave

Karras worked closely with Japanese women union workers to advocate for the implementation of menstruation leave. Although Karras worked across a variety of labor issues during her tenure with the Occupation, I illuminate the transcolonial intimacies she fostered with Japanese women in relation to this policy change in particular. I argue that in advocating for menstruation leave, she reflexively brought herself in-focus, reckoning with the structures of power embodied by the Occupation and her role within it. This process can be observed in materials in the Karras Papers that allow me to tell the story of menstruation leave in the Karras Papers, paired with the speculations I make to 'read between the lines.'

Despite the long efforts of Japanese feminists who advocated for menstrual leave before the war, Occupation era menstruation leave was a contested policy because of Japanese women's concerns about equal job opportunities and equal wages. The enactment of the policy itself was thus discussed in-depth between Karras and other American women involved with menstruation leave, and with Japanese women of the Women's and Minors' Bureau. An aspect of their discussions are observed within "Memo for Record: Subject: Pamphlet on Menstruation Leave (4 May 1948)."[161] Miss Fujiwara of the Women Workers' Section of the Women's and Minors' Bureau had

[161] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Pamphlet on Menstruation Leave (4 May 1948), Box 2, Folder 3, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

drafted two versions of a pamphlet on menstruation leave meant for circulation to Japanese women workers, as she was unsure which was "more desirable."[162] Subsequent discussions between Karras and Mrs. Setsuko Tanino, Chief of the Women in Industry Section of the Women's and Minor's Bureau, indicated that the original drafts were "not serving the purpose which the Women Workers' Section desired to perform in that neither draft gave any indication of a desirable course to be pursued or any answer to the various questions which are always raised concerning menstruation leave."[163] In the next line, Tanino was reported to have "agreed that Women Workers' Section policy is to put the emphasis on taking leave only in case of need, with Labor Standards Law provisions directly in line with this policy."[164] As a result, the final version of the menstruation leave pamphlet was divided into the following topics:

A. Menstruation leave is not given in other countries, yet it is given in Japan, both in collective agreements and by law.
B. Why is it given in Japan – the difficulties of the existing conditions.
C. The dangers of such leave if abused and taken indiscriminately – for equality of wages and equality of job opportunities.
D. What are Labor Standards Law provisions?
E. What then is the true basis for taking menstruation leave – need.
F. Who can decide this – only the individual.
G. What is the role of the union?
H. Conclusion in terms of future reduction of need for this leave.[165]

The discussion between American women and Japanese women regarding menstruation leave, illustrates how their values aligned when advocating for gender equality in the workforce. Specifically, Japanese women were instructed to only take menstruation

[162] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Pamphlet on Menstruation Leave (4 May 1948), Box 2, Folder 3, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[163] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Pamphlet on Menstruation Leave (4 May 1948), Box 2, Folder 3, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[164] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Pamphlet on Menstruation Leave (4 May 1948), Box 2, Folder 3, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[165] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Pamphlet on Menstruation Leave (4 May 1948), Box 2, Folder 3, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.

leave if absolutely needed. Abusing menstruation leave would hinder ongoing efforts to fight for equal job opportunity and wages. Furthermore, the pamphlet emphasized that menstruation leave was only implemented because working conditions were so poor and sanitary supplies were lacking post-World War II. Thus, the long-term goal would be to improve working conditions so that menstruation leave would become entirely unnecessary.

The public messaging about menstruation leave can be understood through the heavily contested equality-versus-difference debate.[166] Those in the "equality" category argue that sexual difference ought to be an irrelevant consideration, while those in the "difference" category insist that appeals on behalf of women "ought to be made in terms of the needs, interests, and characteristics common to women as a group."[167] In reading the Karras papers, I suggest that Karras was an advocate for protecting the different experiences menstruators faced in the workforce. I draw from Karras's memo with the subject, "Field Trip to Osaka 13 August to 16 August 1947." The memo recounts Karras's experience meeting with union women in the Osaka area, lecturing on "Labor Standards for Women and Children in the Industry."[168] Karras recounted that the women who participated in the event expressed the following concern:

> The Labor Standards Law's protective provisions for women will result in discrimination by employers in employing women. They labeled this as a violation of the spirit of the Law and pointed out that it will be very difficult to correct such discrimination because men in the unions are prone to agree with the

[166] Joan W. Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 34.
[167] Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference," 38.
[168] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Field Trip to Osaka 13 to 16 August 1947, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

> employer and feel that it is to their own best interest to have discrimination against women in employment.[169]

In response, Karras noted that "Experience in the United States has indicated that protective laws will not result in discrimination; employment of women has increased tremendously, both numerically and proportionately in the United States."[170] However, Karras immediately followed with, "Although this may be no answer to an immediate problem and although perhaps in the initial stages the employers may have some tendency to discriminate, they will find that it is not economical to do so."[171] She seemingly recognized the importance of protection as a tool for gender equality. However, this framing was lost in the final version of the menstruation leave pamphlet. Karras's desire to protect difference were present in a memo dated August 25, 1947, while the discussion about the menstruation leave pamphlet, which ultimately prioritized equality, was recorded on May 4, 1948. I thus ask, *what happened in these eight months which led Karras to change her position?*

Karras was faced with moments that urged her to listen to the voices of Japanese women, and which in turn, forced her to reckon with the structures of power she herself was bound within. This tension was observed in Karras's discussions with Japanese women regarding the implementations of menstruation leave. A document titled, "Memo for Record: Subject: Conference with Miss Y. Okada—a member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei, one of the largest unions during post-World War II

---

[169] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Field Trip to Osaka 13 to 16 August 1947, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[170] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Field Trip to Osaka 13 to 16 August 1947, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[171] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Field Trip to Osaka 13 to 16 August 1947, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2,Karras Papers, Prange Collection.

Japan—on February 10,1948 lends considerable insight on this topic.[172] In this memo, Karras summarized a meeting between Okada and herself, reporting that Okada came in to make two "requests." The first request was for the Sodomei Women's Section to print a translation of Miss Stander's press conference statement on "Women in Japanese Trade Unions." The second was, "On the basis of investigation, the Sodomei Women's Section is changing its policy with regard to menstruation leave."[173] Specifically, the Sodomei Women's Section began in investigation in September 1947 that netted 2,000 individual replies and 70 replies from unions. The women interviewed were largely in the textile, traffic, metal, and chemical industries. The most important result, Karras wrote, was "the answer to the question 'Why do you need menstruation leave?'"[174] The women gave two reasons for needing leave: bad working conditions and lack of sanitary supplies.[175] Karras explained,

> On the basis of these replies, the Sodomei Women's Section feels that the policy of requesting menstruation leave is a negative policy and should be replaced by a policy of pushing improvement of working conditions and obtaining a special supply of cotton and sanitary supplies…The Central Women's Section of the Sodomei plans issuing a statement to local unions on the change in policy with regard to menstruation leave, explaining its basis in the investigation.[176]

---

[172] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, University of Maryland, Maryland, USA.
[173] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[174] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[175] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[176] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.

Karras recorded Okada's proposal as a matter of fact. There is no evident pushback, and she even concludes the memo by saying, "As exemplified above, Miss Okada seemed extremely intelligent and realistic in her approach."[177] Karras follows this by also noting that "All of the activities described are ones which Wages and Working Conditions Branch has been trying to encourage."[178] The Japanese women union leader's direction seemingly aligned with Karra's agenda. But I also suggest that there is more to the (telling of) the story.

Throughout the eight months in question, Karras worked alongside Japanese women every day. She was also active in hosting conferences and lectures throughout the country, interacting with Japanese women laborers across different prefectures. The nature of Karras's work thus put her in a direct line of conversation with local Japanese women laborers. This was evident in a memo with the subject, "Complaint on Treatment of Women in the Kaizuka Factory in Kaizuka City, Osaka Prefecture," dated January 23, 1948.[179] The memo details a complaint from Miss Sumie Hachimura, who was accompanied by Miss Komatsu of the Communist Party and Miss Wada of *Akahata Shimbun*. These women called to complain about the treatment of women in the Kaizuka Factory. Hachimura's complaint about the factory was that "during the menstruation period the girls were kept in the menstruation room and not permitted to leave the

[177] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[178] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Conference with Miss Y. Okada, Member of the Central Women's Section of the Sodomei on 10 Feb 1948 (14 Feb 48), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[179] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Complaint on Treatment of Women in the Kaizuka Factory, Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

space."[180] Furthermore, when the girls wished to leave their jobs, they were prohibited from doing so. Karras wrote,

> When asked whether they were forcibly detained, Miss Hachimura replied that the girls were afraid to leave because they knew that if they left, they were jeopardizing their chances of marriage. It seems that under the old Japanese custom, marriages are arranged by go-betweens who check on the girls' character and if they leave the plant, they are afraid they will be given a bad character reference and, therefore, they will not be able to find husbands.[181]

The exchange illustrates how Karras was immersed within the daily working conditions of Japanese women. Her work was not limited to the upper- and middle-class women with whom she worked with on policy, but extended to lower-class women from rural areas who were factory workers. Karras was in a position in which she was accountable for listening to their voices, for learning about the historical and cultural contexts that situated these women. I speculate that as Karras worked side-by-side with these Japanese women, she could not help but gain a clearer understanding of their experiences and also develop deeper concern for their plight. While policy level work brought her "out-of-focus," the intimacies cultivated in this grassroots work meant that the Japanese women laborers were humanized in her eyes. I also speculate about the affective encounters here that emerge from Karras's proximity to the Japanese women. The Karras Papers suggest that the lines of communication between Japanese women, even the factory workers, were relatively direct to Karras. Perhaps these one or two degrees of separation was still close enough for Karras to be nudged into solidarity.

[180] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Complaint on Treatment of Women in the Kaizuka Factory, Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, College Park.
[181] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Complaint on Treatment of Women in the Kaizuka Factory, Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, College Park.

This is not to say that Karras was always accepting of the Japanese women. She had previously expressed anger towards the Japanese women who continued to emphasize the negative view that men were oppressing them and refusing to accept them as equals. In a memo dated August 25, 1947, Karras wrote, "Nobody will ever hand them equality of opportunity, prestige, etc. and if they think that the men are going to give it to them automatically just because it is a principle which has been stated, they are exceedingly blind."[182] However, her conversations with Japanese women during her tenure seems to have opened her eyes to the patriarchal structures that bind Japanese women, as well as the efforts Japanese women had been and continued to make to fight for gender equality. While not included in any official documentation, I now speculate Karras's conversations and interactions with Japanese women that guided her toward a decentered and self-reflexive approach.

Maybe one turning point could be observed within Karras's participation in a union protest. There are photos in an album that appear to have been taken by Karras, which depict laborers calling for better working conditions. Behind the viewfinder, Karras has captured numerous images which feature women sitting amongst men on a field, holding posters calling for a minimum wage policy.[183] There are at least five women visible within the frame, their curly hair falling to their shoulders. Some are smiling as they sit in small circles facing each other. Karras is not in the photo, but she has captured the women in-focus. And in doing so, I suggest that Karras has placed

[182] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Field Trip to Osaka 13 to 16 August 1947, Box 2, Folder 1, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[183] Photograph of union strike, Box Mead Smith Karras Photo Albums IX + X, Karras Album IX, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

herself metaphorically in-focus as well, reflexively reckoning with her preconceived notions about Japanese women as helpless victims while witnessing these same women fight for better working conditions alongside men. The earlier frustration Karras felt towards the Japanese women melted, then, as she observed and engaged their efforts to self-advocate. I speculate that Karras saw herself within these women. Transcolonial intimacies were thus formed as Karras worked with Japanese women, not only observing but also bearing witness and recording their activism, ultimately recognizing a shared humanity and solidarity.

Perhaps the turning point was when the Sodomei women union members filed a petition to the government demanding sanitary supplies. The petition was filed on February 3, 1948, by Komakichi Matsuoka, the President of Sodomei; Tsuneko Akamatsu, the Chief of Womens' Counter-plan Section of Sodomei; and Keiko Higawa, the Women's Section of Tokyo Federation of Sodomei.[184] The petition read:

> If we could maintain the sanitary equipments distribution, we could work more with much zeal in production. We working women do not demand menstruation leave as our right, but we demand it for sanitary equipment's to maintain cleanliness and facilities of working places which does not harm the mothers' body. Since it is difficult to realize complete working places at once, we utilize it as a convenient way for the time being, but we cannot be satisfied in such a passive and temporizing measures. Therefore we demand one rubber manufacture and 80 gram of sanitary cotton and 100 sheet of paper to the authorities. We want our demand to be realized for working women.[185]

The union's advocacy for sanitary supplies calls out the patriarchal implications of the menstruation leave policy as enacted. Specifically, the option for menstruation leave is

[184] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Allocation of Sanitary Supplies (5 March 1948) – Attachment a. Petition to Government, Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[185] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Allocation of Sanitary Supplies (5 March 1948) – Attachment a. Petition to Government, Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Karras Papers, Prange Collection.

inaccessible without it being paid leave. Thus, the women laborers must advocate for the ability to better work through menstruation. I speculate that when Karras saw the strong language present in the Sodomei women's demands, she realized that they—under her tutelage—became feminist activists in their own right. This seems to mark the transition from pupil to peer, as Karras subsequently moves to collaborate with the Sodomei women for the distribution of sanitary supplies.

Karras submitted a memo regarding the "Allocation of Sanitary Supplies" on March 5, 1948. In this memo, Karras detailed her conferences with the Sodomei women union members, alongside the factory conditions and lack of sanitary supplies. She concluded with the paragraph, "Although it is recognized that the supply of raw materials is exceedingly short in comparison to the needs as a whole, it is our hope that an allocation for this purpose can be made."[186] Karras emphasized that an allocation would not only improve the health and welfare of women workers, it would also "increase vital production in the textile and other industries."[187] She ended with, "In addition, it would lend much-needed support to the new Women's and Minors' Bureau by giving it success in one of its first efforts on behalf of women workers."[188] Karras thus tied the Sodomei women union member's efforts directly to the Women's and Minors' Bureau, which she perceived as her greatest accomplishment as an economist under the Occupation. This memo conveys how Karras is advocating to her superiors on behalf of the Sodomei women union members. She is in coalition with them, joining

[186] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Allocation of Sanitary Supplies (5 March 1948), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[187] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Allocation of Sanitary Supplies (5 March 1948), Karras Papers, Prange Collection.
[188] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Subject: Allocation of Sanitary Supplies (5 March 1948), Karras Papers, Prange Collection.

their call for sanitary supplies, and using her position to push for approval of their request.

The Japanese women's advocacy for rations of sanitary supplies continued. On March 30, 1948, three more women came to Karras to request that "every effort to obtain allocation of cotton for sanitary supplies be made."[189] The women who came to speak to Karras were Miss Yanagi Utago – Daito Boseki Union, Miss Chieko Yamazaki – Fuji Boseki (Oyami Factory) Union, and Miss Nirasawa – Vice Chief of Sodomei Women's Section and Chief of Women's Section of Textile Workers' Union. Approximately two weeks later on April 15, 1948, Karras wrote that Tanino "reported the current status of the question of allocation of sanitary supplies for working women."[190] She then communicated the following to Tanino:

> At the present time we have (several times) indicated to PHW our concern with this problem and have received assurances that the maximum allocation possible would be made, and that unless some definite step has been taken which changes the situation we have no reason for further action until we receive word from PHW as to the decision concerning the problem.[191]

Here, Karras's tone demonstrates exasperation, but I speculate that this is not directed towards the Japanese women. Instead, I suggest that Karras is frustrated by her supervisors, by the other divisions within the Occupation forces that have not moved forward on her proposal. Karras's memo thus illustrates that women's issues were not taken particularly serious within the Occupation, even if it was a white American woman at the helm. Other reforms under MacArthur's plans for civilization and

---

[189] Mead Smith, Memo for Record: Sanitary Supplies for Women Workers (30 April 1948), Box 2, Folder 2, Series 2, Mead Smith Karras Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, University of Maryland, Maryland, USA.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

democratization involved high-ranking personnel in the US government or Occupation forces.[192] However, gender reforms were left to low-ranking American women led by Lieutenant Ethel Weed of the CIE.[193] Despite the symbolic importance MacArthur assigned to the liberation of Japanese women, there was a lack of resources available for gender-based reforms.[194] As the call for menstrual supplies indicate, Karras was part of the Occupation forces but her voice and political power was sidelined. These memos and proposals were official documents, submitted to American—and predominantly male—supervisors for approval.[195] It is thus unsurprising that Karras's personal reflections about the process are excluded from the archival record. However, as I read the documents that piece together her telling of the story, and I look deeper to read between the lines, I imagine the processes of reckoning that Karras experienced, herself a worker bound within the context of US military occupation, and the patriarchal structures of power which accompany such an institution. As Karras continued to experience marginalization under SCAP, she gravitated toward the transcolonial intimacies she nurtured with Japanese women workers.

Conclusion

The story of menstruation leave I explore does not advance the policy as a perfect solution to gender inequality in the Japanese labor force, as I first believed it to be. Indeed, menstruation leave is seen by some as a backwards policy. Levitt and Barnack-Tavlaris refer to Japan's menstruation leave policy today as an example of "benevolent

[192] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?," 33.
[193] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?," 33.
[194] Koikari, "Exporting Democracy?," 33.
[195] Takeuchi, "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection," 129.

sexism," or a policy which was created to "protect women's capacity to bear children."[196] I recognize concerns that menstruation leave strengthens the connection between a menstruator's body and their reproductive process and emphasize the seeming failure of menstruation leave in contemporary Japanese society. Although menstruation leave continues to be a legal right in Japan today, 44% of women in Japan do not take any time off even when they are experiencing severe pain from their menstrual cycle.[197] Furthermore, menopause leave is not covered under the law.[198] The continued trepidation toward applying for menstruation leave likely stems from the fact that this is not paid leave.

At the beginning of this chapter, I explained how menstruation can function as a rhetoric of containment. One major finding of this chapter, based on my engagement with the Karras Papers, is that menstruation leave, too, was a form of containment. Young has said that the "price of a woman's acceptance as normal is that she stay in the closet as a menstruator."[199] The existent policy of menstruation leave, then, is another version of this menstrual closet. Or, if considering a Japanese context, it is another iteration of the menstrual hut. The unpaid nature of menstruation leave meant that women were expected to remove themselves from the public labor force and stay at home in their private homes, which simply did not work for the Japanese workers featured in this chapter.

---

[196] Levitt and Barnack-Tavlaris, "Addressing Menstruation in the Workplace," 567.
[197] "44% of women at Japanese firms never take leave for period pain: int'l survey," *Mainichi Shimbun*, August 30, 2023. https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20230829/p2a/00m/0li/009000c.
[198] "44% of women at Japanese firms never take leave for period pain: int'l survey."
[199] Young, "Menstrual Meditations," 107.

The transcolonial intimacies forged between Karras and Japanese women involved in the Women and Minors' Bureau sought to resist menstruation leave as a form of containment. First, after much discussion, they published a pamphlet that was carefully worded to note the risks of taking menstruation leave. The pamphlet urged menstruating laborers to only take menstruation leave when absolutely necessary. I consider these instructions to be one form of resistance, specifically political resistance within the very structure of bureaucracy that created this containment. In other words, the pamphlet was a form of resistance from *within*. It was an approach that centered the working menstruators and their needs, not just the Occupation's agenda to liberate Japanese women. This was possible because these transcolonial intimacies were between Karras, a government worker, and Japanese women who had access to grassroots discussions. A second avenue of resistance was the pursuit of sanitary supplies. Karras worked with members of the Sodomei union to petition SCAP for the allocation and distribution of sanitary supplies, which was ultimately successful, though not in their desired amount.

This series of events—the implementation of menstruation leave and resistance to menstruation leave as containment—illustrate the complications that situate transcolonial intimacies across bureaucratic lines. Instead of passing judgment on Karras and her role in the fight for gender equality in Occupied Japan, I have sought to disrupt the binary dichotomy between oppressor and oppressed. Therefore, this chapter has been concerned with resistance enacted in spite of the boundaries of bureaucracy. I argue that Karras enacted resistance through (1) the transcolonial intimacies she fostered with Japanese women, and (2) the self-reflexivity she demonstrated moving in-focus and out-

of-focus in her records. Karras's work with menstruation leave and the Women's and Minors' Bureau thus offers insight of how resistance can take place from *within*.

Chapter 3: Uncomfortable Indigestions: Foodways, Reckoning, and Survival

My grandmother did not eat cheese. When I was a child, this information was relayed to me as a funny story, one my mother told between the kind of laughter that simply spills out between one's lips. After the war ended, rations were distributed under the guidance of the Occupation forces. Some of these rations now included American food, much of which was foreign to the Japanese people—including cheese. My great-grandmother had no idea what to do with it and threw it into their dinner, a Japanese hot pot dish. "It was the smell," my grandmother said to supplement my mother's retelling of her experience, "I just cannot bring myself to eat cheese after that." At the time, I found humor in the incredulousness of the story, in the idea that there was a point in time during which my grandmother did not know cheese. After all, I had known and eaten cheese for as long as I could remember. I still find this to be a funny story, but now recognize how my grandmother's anecdote reflected the changing foodways in post-World War II Japan.

This chapter is concerned with Japanese people's foodways during a period marked by the rupture of Japanese empire and confrontation with American Occupation forces. I draw from Anna Young, Justin Eckstein, and Donovan Conley's definition of foodways as a process in which "history and culture meet through networks of production, distribution, and consumption."[1] The term foodways stresses the

[1] Anna M. Young, Justin Eckstein, and Donovan Conley, "Rhetorics and Foodways," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (April 3, 2015): 198.

interconnected nature of shopping, cooking, dining, digesting, and more.[2] Foodways, as Kathleen Riley and Amy Paugh note, is thus "more all-encompassing than food alone."[3] While I am certainly interested in food, or the materiality of edible things, I am also concerned about the ways in which food is prepared, cooked, eaten, and digested. As such, I gravitate toward the larger scope of foodways to explore how Japanese people navigated the instability of the late- and post-World War II years. Specifically, I argue that Japanese people found state sanctioned foodways to be insufficient, and thus self-constructed alternate foodways to secure their survival. This process transformed Japanese people from what Kyla Wazana Tompkins calls "the hungry" or "the eaten" into "the eaters."[4] I thus interpret food through a critical rhetorical lens to examine the possibilities for foodways to unsettle imperial and colonial power.

Eating the Other

I begin by framing foodways as a communicative and rhetorical phenomenon. Carlnita P. Greene and Janet M. Cramer define communication as the "process by which we understand the world and our attempts to convey that understanding to others through both verbal and nonverbal communication."[5] Food can be understood as a form of communication because "it is a nonverbal means by which we share meaning with others."[6] Perhaps more specifically, Roland Barthes points to the ways in which food

[2] Young, Eckstein, and Conley, "Rhetorics and Foodways."
[3] Kathleen C. Riley and Amy L. Paugh, *Food and Language: Discourses and Foodways across Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 5.
[4] Kyla Wazana Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).
[5] Carlnita P. Greene and Janet M. Cramer, "Beyond Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication/Communication as Food," in *Food as Communication: Communication as Food*, ed. Janet M. Cramer, Carlnita P. Greene, and Lynn Walters (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), x.
[6] Greene and Cramer, "Beyond Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication/Communication as Food," x.

can also be "a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations, and behavior."[7] Furthermore, food has been tied to communication through its identity as a symbol. Kenneth Burke has famously defined humans as the symbol using animal,[8] and Joshua Frye and Michael Bruner build on Burke to note that "food has always been a preoccupation of the symbol-using animal," recognizing food as one of the many symbols that humans use.[9] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney extends this idea, framing food as "a symbol of self-identity."[10] First, each member of the social group consumes the food, a process in which the food becomes *embodied* in each individual. Food operates as metonym, by being a part of the self.[11] Second, food is consumed by "individual members of the social group who eat the food together."[12] Communal consumption of food can lead it to be representative of their social group identity.[13] Food can thus operate as a meaning-making practice, a means of "adjusting to culture and the demands of the state."[14] These symbolic attributes shape food into a channel for creating and sharing meaning with others.[15] Finally, Young, Eckstein, and Conley argue that foodways, including the "origin and handling of ingredients; the modes of production and distribution involved; the social contexts of consumption; the invention and

---

[7] Roland Barthes, "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier (New York: Routledge, 2018), 14.
[8] Kenneth Burke, "Chapter One — Definition of Man," in *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 3–24.
[9] Joshuau J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, "Introduction," in *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*, ed. Joshua J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1.
[10] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*, 3 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1995), 129.
[11] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 130.
[12] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 130.
[13] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 130.
[14] Alice P. Julier, Carole Counihan, and Penny Van Esterik, "Introduction: The Continuing Salience of Food and Culture: A Reader," in *Food as Communication: Communication as Food*, ed. Janet M. Cramer, Carlnita P. Greene, and Lynn Walters (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 3.
[15] Greene and Cramer, "Beyond Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication/Communication as Food," x.

processing applied to the end product," is rhetorical.[16] Therefore, foodways are made rhetorical through the uses of symbols and the creation of discourse.

Second, the rhetoricity of foodways make them inextricable from power. Jennifer Lin LeMesurier proposes that a rhetorical follow-up to the phrase "You are what you eat" would be, "Says who?" [17] LeMesurier highlights the need to reveal and analyze power differentials within discourses of eating and consumption.[18] Similarly, Frye and Bruner also emphasize how food and rhetoric are connected by discourse, materiality, and power. [19] They explain that food is "increasingly dominant discourses and suffuses co-cultures, popular culture, countercultures, global economics, and environmental policies."[20] Foodways then function as "tools of seduction or devices for the exercise of repressive power"[21] that reinforce hierarchies and serve as the blueprint for dominant social relations.[22] I thus argue that foodways are inextricable from power, which requires engagement with principles of critical rhetoric. Raymie McKerrow characterizes critical rhetoric as being concerned with "unmask[ing] or demystify[ing] the discourse of power."[23] McKerrow also warns against a binary focus on the dominant versus dominated, which "may deflect attention from the existence of multiple classes, groups, or even individuals with varying degrees of power over others."[24] Inspired by

---

[16] Young, Eckstein, and Conley, "Rhetorics and Foodways," 198.
[17] Jennifer Lin LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating: Asian Appetites and the Rhetorics of Racial Consumption* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2023), x.
[18] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, xi.
[19] Frye and Bruner, "Introduction," 1.
[20] Frye and Bruner, "Introduction," 2-3.
[21] Kathleen LeBesco and Peter Naccarato, eds., "Introduction," in *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food and Meaning* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 1.
[22] Leda Cooks, "You Are What You (Don't) Eat? Food, Identity, and Resistance," in *Text and Performance Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (2009): 95.
[23] McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric," 92.
[24] McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric," 96.

such critical rhetorical sensibilities, I examine foodways in an effort to critique power relations across multiple vectors and spectrums of power.[25] To do so, I highlight how foodways construct and reinforce hierarchies of self and Other.

Foodways construct, share, and reinforce notions of identity. As Greene and Cramer note, food is a socializing mechanism; it communicates our cultures, societies, and groups to which we belong, through processes of preparing and eating."[26] Food is thus closely tied to the rhetorical formation of categories like race, gender, sexuality, and class.[27] Specifically, the ways of eating are "overladen with beliefs about the right and wrong way to inhabit a body and perform its identities."[28] Foodways then facilitate processes of identification and disidentification with others.[29] Put differently, food can be a means of distinguishing difference between the self and Other. I am not the first to make this point. In fact, Sigmund Freud has argued that the oldest instinctual impulse is "I should like to eat this" or "I should like to spit it out," or more generally, "I should like to take this into myself and keep that out."[30] Freud explains that the "original pleasure-ego" wishes to "introject into itself everything that is good and to eject from itself everything that is bad."[31] In sum, what is external or outside of the self becomes synonymous with "what is bad, what is alien to the ego."[32] A dichotomy thus emerges: what is "inside" one's body can be defined against what lies "outside" of it, and what is

[25] McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric," 96.
[26] Greene and Cramer, "Beyond Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication/Communication as Food," xii.
[27] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, x.
[28] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, x.
[29] Greene and Cramer, "Beyond Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication/Communication as Food," xii.
[30] Sigmund Freud, "'Negation' (1925h)," in *On Freud's "Negation,"* ed. Mary Kay O'Neil and Salman Akhtar (New York: Routledge, 2011), 15.
[31] Freud, "'Negation' (1925h)," 15.
[32] Freud, "'Negation' (1925h)," 15.

"inside" is good while what is "outside" is bad.[33] The process of eating food is tied to the human desire to pass judgment on what is worthy of consumption, and links what is on the outside or unworthy of consumption with being less than. Food is thus inextricable from the power that is associated with certain identities; the consumption of food becomes a measure of what is valued within a given society.

The boundaries between inside and outside, between self and Other, are permeable. Maggie Kilgour suggests that these boundaries are crossed through the act of "incorporation," in which an "external object is taken inside another."[34] The inside is perceived as superior and central, while the outside is considered secondary and even threatening; incorporation is thus motivated by the desire to eliminate the outside threat.[35] Specifically, the effort to "maintain a situation of centripetal control" requires whatever is on the outside to be "subsumed and drawn into the center until there is no category of alien outsideness left to threaten the inner stability."[36] This process includes the projection of a "desire for assimilation from a center to a periphery," which is a tactic used in misogyny, racism, and imperialism.[37] The outside threat, then, is brought into the self as a process of elimination. Furthermore, such consumption of the Other creates a "total identity between eater and eaten while insisting on the total control—the literal consumption—of the latter by the former."[38] Permeating boundaries between self and Other through consumption thus not only reinforces boundaries but is also an act of eliminating any trace of the Other from the surrounding world.

---

[33] Maggie Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), 4.
[34] Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 4.
[35] Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 4-5.
[36] Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 4-5.
[37] Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 5.
[38] Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 7.

Consumption of the Other, or eating the Other, can be attributed to colonialist impulses. The act of eating itself is the most basic of needs.[39] However, eating cannot simply be the act of swallowing and ingesting food. Rather, Tompkins proposes a more multifaceted approach to understanding the act of eating:

> It is not simply the "what" of what one eats that matters. It is the "where" of where we eat and where the food comes from; the "when" of historically specific economic conditions and political pressures; the "how" of how food is made; and the "who" of who makes and who gets to eat it. Finally, and most important, it is the many "whys" of eating — the different imperatives of hunger, necessity, pleasure, nostalgia, and protest — that most determine its meaning.[40]

The act of eating the Other, then, must be read through this critical orientation. It is not only a matter of what food represents the Other. Rather, one must consider where the Other is from, when the Other is eaten, how the Other has been constructed, who cooks and eats the Other, and why the Other must be eaten. In doing so, I recognize eating the Other as a manifestation of colonial power. I draw from Casey Kelly's argument that the consumption of Otherness is a "veiled colonial endeavor that erases the power lines of inequity that divide the globe and commodify the cultural experiences of difference in support of the Western globalization."[41] The commodification of Otherness has then been offered as a "new delight, more intense, more satisfying than normal ways of doing and feeling," but only in service of "mainstream white culture."[42] Eating the Other is thus framed as an equalizing act, but is really what Kilgour has proposed: a consumption motivated by the desire to eliminate any essence of the threatening and alien Other.

---

[39] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 4.
[40] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 4.
[41] Casey Ryan Kelly, "Exoticizing Poverty in Bizarre Foods America," in *Political Language of Food*, ed. Samuel Boerboom (Lexington Books, 2017), 72.
[42] bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 21.

Eating the Other is an act which serves the eater—typically those in dominant positions of power. Histories of colonialism have positioned the "primitive mysteries of the 'Orient'" as available for consumption to "season the life and palate of the Western subject."[43] Such practices are observed in the valorization, exoticization, fetishization, and consumption of the Other in ways that showcase and reinforce "conventional patterns of power and privilege."[44] Lisa Heldke terms this "cultural food colonialism."[45] Heldke notes that while eating foreign foods may not be approached with colonial intent, the act is often guided by a "deep desire to have contact with, and to somehow own an experience of, an Exotic Other, as a way of making [oneself] more interesting."[46] Lucy Long's concept of "culinary tourism" similarly addresses the intentional and exploratory participation in the foodways of an Other. [47] Although the term tourism is often associated with vision, culinary tourism offers a framework to engage with all of the senses. [48] Long proposes culinary tourism as a process which empowers one to overcome the voyeuristic gaze and negotiate between the needs, interests, and aesthetics of all stakeholders, but the concept nonetheless relies on the image of a tourist who enjoys a gastronomic adventure, eating the Other as they are served by the Other. [49] As Helene Shugart explains, acting upon the desire to consume the Other to benefit the self is a "dangerous, potentially feminizing practice."[50] In fact, consumption of the "irresistibly

---

[43] Kelly, "Exoticizing Poverty in Bizarre Foods America," 72.
[44] Helene A. Shugart, "Sumptuous Texts: Consuming 'Otherness' in the Food Film Genre," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 25, no. 1 (March 2008): 72.
[45] Lisa M. Heldke, *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer* (New York: Routledge, 2003), xv.
[46] Heldke, *Exotic Appetites*, xvi.
[47] Long, "Culinary Tourism," 21.
[48] Lucy Long, "Culinary Tourism," in *Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics,* ed. Paul B. Thompson and David M. Kaplan (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013), 21.
[49] Lucy M. Long, ed., "Chapter 1: Culinary Tourism: A Folkloristic Perspective on Eating and Otherness," in *Culinary Tourism* (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 37.
[50] Shugart, "Sumptuous Texts," 72.

sumptuous, exotic culinary fare makes consumers better for it—freer, more enlightened, more intensely themselves, and thus more powerful *in themselves.*"[51] Mikhail Bakhtin also underscores how eating reveals a transgression of the body's own limits.[52] Specifically, the body "swallows, devours, rends the world apart, is enriched, and grows at the world's expense."[53] In this moment, the eater is able to taste the world, introducing it into their body and making it a part of themselves.[54] The eater is joyful as they triumph over the world, devouring food without being devoured themselves.[55] A critical approach thus reveals how consumption of the Other works to serve the eater. Put differently, the eater experiences the Other as a resource for the taking; this relationship is not mutual.

Scholars have explored possibilities for more reflective consumption of the Other but have remained critical of its colonial undertones. LeMesurier argues that "care for an Other's food does not automatically erase power differentials between people," particularly because the "sensational process of taking something into one's body does not equate with a more enlightened understanding of that object or the hands that make it."[56] This is particularly true if the rhetoric surrounding these eating practices "maintains a sense of ontological difference through the digestive tract."[57] Simply caring for the Other's food is an insufficient approach. Uma Narayan similarly explains that "no amount of concerned reflection alone can undo the fact that mainstream eaters would remain privileged consumers, benefiting from the structural inequalities and

[51] Shugart, "Sumptuous Texts," 82.
[52] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1968), 281.
[53] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 281.
[54] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 281.
[55] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 281.
[56] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, 4.
[57] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, 4.

unpleasant material realities that often form the contexts in which 'ethnic food' is produced and consumed."[58] Because colonialist and imperialist encounters—including acts of eating the Other—involve relationships between different groups and cultures, disruption and resistance require "large-scale changes" in power dynamics.[59] Narayan thus calls for eaters to contemplate the "complex social and political implications of who produces and who eats such 'ethnic foods' in western contexts."[60] I turn to indigestion as a process that sparks such critical reflexivity in the eater.

Indigestible Reckoning

Sensations of indigestion demand that the eater reckon with power structures that situate certain foodways. In the process of digestion, as the eater attempts to metabolize and utilize the eaten Other, the sensation of indigestion may occur. Tompkins describes indigestion as a phenomenon which occurs when the digestive tract is upset, provoked by "the internalization of the foreign object through the mouth."[61] It is a sign that the metabolism process is reversed, that the bowels are speaking back to the stomach.[62] In other words, indigestion is the rejection of "easy excretion of matter from the body."[63] Tompkins theorizes the indigestible Black subject pushing back against their consumer and upsetting the white body politic.[64] I build on Tompkins's work to consider indigestion as a form of resistance that strikes affectively from within, threatening the unidirectional process of eater consuming and easily expelling the eaten Other. As Sara

[58] Uma Narayan, "Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier (New York: Routledge, 2018), 81.
[59] Narayan, "Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food," 81.
[60] Narayan, "Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food," 82.
[61] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 100.
[62] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 100.
[63] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 101.
[64] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 117.

Ahmed notes, "food is 'taken into' the body."[65] The body must "incorporate elements from outside itself in order to survive," which exposes vulnerability because eating requires "exchanges, communion, and commerce with others."[66] Eating becomes a "vulnerable process"[67] precisely because the must "keep the orifices of the body open."[68] But Shugart warns, "that which we consume may, indeed, consume us in turn."[69] Although the Other is swallowed into the eater's body, Otherness still permeates. The membrane of identity does not discriminate against different flows of power, opening the eater to "counterconsumption by the Other."[70] I propose that the consumption and permeation of Otherness leads to a sensation of indigestion, which unsettles the eater.

Indigestion affectively orients the eater through discomfort, pushing them to engage the experiences of the eaten Other. Eckstein and Conley explain that affect refers to "a pure intensity occurring outside of language (and often perception), whereas emotion occurs when the intensity is incorporated into the symbolic order (language), personalized, and narrativized."[71] Affect, then, materializes when the body "bumps" up against an event or happening, such as aroma or taste.[72] In moments such as these, the body is jolted into positions and states of readiness.[73] LeMesurier echoes this thought, proposing that we consider how dominant presences related to food become

---

[65] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Second edition (New York: Routledge, 2015), 83.
[66] Kilgour, *From Communion to Cannibalism*, 6.
[67] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, 4.
[68] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 83.
[69] Shugart, "Sumptuous Texts," 86.
[70] Shugart, "Sumptuous Texts," 86.
[71] Justin Eckstein and Donovan Conley, "Spatial Affects and Rhetorical Relations: At the Cherry Creek Farmers' Market," in *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*, ed. Joshua J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, (New York: Routledge, 2014), 177.
[72] Eckstein and Conley, "Spatial Affects and Rhetorical Relations: At the Cherry Creek Farmers' Market," 177.
[73] Eckstein and Conley, "Spatial Affects and Rhetorical Relations: At the Cherry Creek Farmers' Market," 177.

accumulated "within the bodies of those watching and eating, inclining audiences' bodies toward or away from certain flavors and practices."[74] While this certainly applies to constructing and reinforcing borders of inside and outside, between good food and bad food, I suggest that indigestion also works to orient the eater's bodies in unexpected directions.

Affects are internalized through "subjective associations of sensations with an event," and each affect "contorts and orients the body."[75] These affective moments and subsequent (re)orientations, then, work to "establish new relations between strangers."[76] I propose that these affective moments are a result of the discomfort of indigestion, an unsettling that occurs as the body attempts to dislodge the foreign food from the digestive tract. Indigestion thus affectively redirects the eater from extracting and using the eaten Other to reckoning with their role within dominant structures of power. Within the case of Japanese foodways post-World War II, indigestion affectively invites both Japanese people and Americans involved with the Occupation to reckon with imperial and colonial foodways. I distinguish my focus from culinary tourism, because while it is not uncommon for tourists or travelers to experience indigestion when trying foods for the first time, war creates longer stretches of exposure to foreign foods. Within these prolonged periods of contact, indigestion continues to linger, unsettling the self from within, haunting and inciting reckoning across generations.

---

[74] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, 11.
[75] Eckstein and Conley, "Spatial Affects and Rhetorical Relations: At the Cherry Creek Farmers' Market," 178.
[76] Eckstein and Conley, "Spatial Affects and Rhetorical Relations: At the Cherry Creek Farmers' Market," 178.

Japanese Food and National Identity

This section traces how Japanese imperial foodways constructed inside/self and outside/Other dichotomies by connecting Japanese food to national identity. Nationalist foodways can regulate embodiment, functioning as allegories through which "the expanding nation and its attendant anxieties play out."[77] As Tompkins notes, "Food consistently signals to the borders of what we might term national bodies and thus to the ruptures in the borders of both nation and body that are marked by what comes into and goes out of the mouth."[78] Food is thus an indicator of borders—not the physical borders of the nation, but of the social and cultural borders that delineate inside from outside, and the self from the Other. Such rhetoric is particularly salient within the phrase, "you are what you eat," which connects cultural consumption practices with the biases held about those practices.[79] Food can thus foster what LeMesurier terms "gut orientations" on a national scale, which moves us toward or away from certain communities by moralizing certain food practices as "good" and clean or "bad" and dirty.[80] Japanese food has traditionally functioned to foster such gut orientations, transforming—or perhaps weaponizing—food as a tool to distinguish national identity.

Eating Japanese food is a valuable component of Japanese identity. As noted earlier, food not only tells people how to live but also "how they think of themselves in relation to others."[81] Traditionally, Japanese people have traditionally used their cuisine

[77] Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 4.
[78] Kyla Wazana Tompkins, "Literary Approaches to Food Studies," *Food, Culture & Society* 8, no. 2 (September 2005): 246.
[79] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating,* 2.
[80] LeMesurier, *Inscrutable Eating*, 2.
[81] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 3.

to mark the boundary between the collective self and Other.[82] Anne Allison explains that Japanese food is tied to national identity by being "appropriated as a sign of culture."[83] Put differently, "To be Japanese is to eat Japanese food."[84] To many, food in Japan cannot be casual, and the producer cannot be casual in their production of this food either.[85] Those producing food in Japan must take on the responsibility of "producing food to the standards of perfection and exactness that Japanese cuisine demands," a value which signifies the importance of sustaining and nourishing specific expectations within a specific social order.[86] That being said, Japanese food has not always been 'Japanese.' Japanese identity has been redefined through historical encounters with the Other, and the meanings associated with food have also shifted across time.[87] This chapter limits it scope to engaging Japanese food and national identity within the late-World War II and post-World War II period under the Allied Occupation.

During wartime, Japanese food became tied to practices of national identity in specific ways. Japanese foodways during wartime were approached with the goal of "turning all domestic cooking, eating, and digestion into patriotic duties."[88] It is important to note that the late-World War II period was one of "total war," in which "supporting the war machine is as essential in the pursuit of victory as sheer military might.[89] The management of foodways became a matter of strategic significance

---

[82] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 3.
[83] Anne Allison, "Japanese Mothers and Obentōs: The Lunch-Box as Ideological State Apparatus," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier (New York: Routledge, 2018), 52.
[84] Allison, "Japanese Mothers and Obentōs: The Lunch-Box as Ideological State Apparatus," 52.
[85] Allison, "Japanese Mothers and Obentōs: The Lunch-Box as Ideological State Apparatus," 52.
[86] Allison, "Japanese Mothers and Obentōs: The Lunch-Box as Ideological State Apparatus," 52.
[87] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self*, 128.
[88] Eric C. Rath, *Japan's Cuisines: Food, Place and Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 127.
[89] Katarzyna Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 115-116.

because it would directly correlate to the working efficiency and morale of the population.[90] The control over foodways signals how total war required full mobilization not only of soldiers, but also of civilians. As such, nutritional knowledge was transformed from a "scientific domain of specialists" into "practical advice for the people," rendering diet a valuable weapon to preserve order and productivity.[91] State institutions thus elevated the knowledge of eating healthy at a low cost to "a level of patriotic virtue."[92] What Katarzyna Cwiertka calls the "militarization of nutrition" led to food being linked to national identity under Japanese imperialism.[93] For example, Eric Rath explains how the term "national people's cuisine" or *kokuminshoku,* an abbreviation for *kokumin shokuryō* or "civilian rations," was circulated to give a more uplifting meaning to the meager wartime diet, appealing to abstract sensibilities of seasonality, local foods, and nutrition, which were more reminiscent of cuisine than rations.[94] In this way, Japanese foodways were controlled by the Japanese state as a means to mobilize Japanese people to join the war effort. This was particularly true during the final years of the Japanese empire, which Helen Lee describes as experiencing "unrivaled state control over people and resources in support of the war effort."[95] The national identity cultivated during the total war period asked Japanese people to limit their food consumption to rations in service of the larger imperial effort. Thus, to be Japanese was to participate in these nationalist foodways.

---

[90] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 115-116.
[91] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 117.
[92] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 119.
[93] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 137.
[94] Rath, *Japan's Cuisines*, 130.
[95] Lee, "Eating for the Emperor," 159.

However, as the total war period continued, the Japanese state began failing its people. Rations were insufficient and an increasing number of Japanese people across the nation were starving and desperate for food. This chapter is concerned with the resistance efforts such Japanese people engaged in to disrupt dominant state-established foodways, and to create their own foodways to negotiate survival. My efforts foreground indigestible reckoning as a process in fostering transcolonial intimacies, in which the hungry and the eaters nurtured consciousness of surrounding power structures and recognized the humanity of the Other. I approach these topics chronologically, first examining the ways in which Japanese people divorced from state established foodways and thus forged a community removed from performances of national identity. Next, I shed light on the consumption practices of American soldiers, paying attention to the abundant quality of their food. Finally, I engage the donations brought to Japanese people by the Licensed Relief Agencies of Asia (LARA), exploring how Japanese people learned how to cook with foreign foods. Each of these interrogations foreground indigestible reckoning as a mode through which vectors of colonial power were questioned, challenged, and resisted.

Tracing and Speculating Foodways

There are different registers of intimacy at play within foodways, particularly within processes of eating the Other. First, the very act of eating is intimate. The consumption of food brings something that has existed outside to the inside, transforming something from the external to the internal. It is a personal act that involves the inmost parts of the body. But consuming a foreign object can affect the body in unexpected ways, including indigestion. I engage the second register of intimacy, transcolonial intimacies, through

the sensation of indigestion. Specifically, I argue that indigestible reckoning facilitated transcolonial intimacies between Japanese people and Americans who participated in their foodways. Like consumption, which empowers both the self and Other to permeate boundaries of identity, indigestible reckoning is also a multidirectional process. Pushing back against binary categories and assumed hierarchies of order, my engagement with indigestible reckoning seeks to sit with the myriad flows of power present within foodways during the Occupation of Japan. This chapter thus wrestles with the complications observed in the aftermath of a collision, specifically a collision of imperial and colonial powers. I illuminate the ways in which Americans participated in Japanese people's self-constructed foodways, and trace how their indigestible reckonings led to shared recognitions of humanity.

My examination of Japanese foodways in the late- and post-World War II period draw from archives housed across Japan and the US. I trace through the following: the NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation) *Senso* Archives containing witness statements from those who survived World War II; a number of materials housed at the Prange Collection at the University of Maryland, such as the Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories containing interviews from Americans who planned or served in the Allied Occupation, the Donald Swann Papers which recount an American soldier's experiences being stationed in Japan, and women's magazines and recipe books which passed through censorship procedures under the Occupation; the National Library of Medicine's records on the Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LARA); and the American Friends Service Committee report on post-World War II relief needs in Japan. These artifacts span across different historical, national, and cultural contexts. The oral histories I examine

are even in different languages, some in Japanese and some in English. I cannot—in the literal most sense of the phrase—put these archival materials in conversation with each other. The voices I find in the artifacts must first speak to me, then speak to each other *through* me. I build my own project archive through this process. My engagement with these artifacts, my interests and scope, is shaped by my grandmother.

I am haunted by my grandmother. Or perhaps I should say that I am haunted by her voice and memories. As noted in the introduction chapter of this dissertation, before my grandmother died, I made an audio recording of her experiences during World War II. She shared numerous details, ranging from her brothers being drafted to receiving chocolates from American soldiers during the Occupation. But my grandmother spoke most about the painful hunger she endured. She spoke bitterly about her attempts to grow vegetables by the Kamo river in Kyoto, and how the vegetables were stolen before she could harvest them. My engagement with Japanese foodways is thus deeply personal because my grandmother's experiences haunt me. Avery Gordon defines haunting as, "those singular yet repetitive instances when home becomes unfamiliar, when your bearings on the world lose direction, when the over-and-done-with comes alive, when what's been in your blind spot comes into view."[96] Despite being confined to an audio file that now sits in my phone, my grandmother's voice calls for my attention, and I am forced to confront her memories. And that is the very essence of a ghost, it has "a real presence and demands its due."[97] It is through these ghosts and through their haunting that "abusive systems of power make themselves known and their impacts felt in

[96] Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xvi.
[97] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, xvi.

everyday life, especially when they are supposedly over and done with."[98] My grandmother's narrative is what has oriented me towards uncovering flows of domination and resistance that have previously been obfuscated. Her haunting guides my examination of archival materials, pulling me toward documents and narratives that reveal the daunting conditions of Japanese foodways in the late- and post-World War II period, and the desperate measures Japanese people like her took to survive.

This chapter is my effort to bear witness to a part of my grandmother's life. I draw from Catherine Squires, who discussed haunting in relation to Harriet Tubman and the twenty-dollar bill. Squires combed through her family history, Andrew Jackson's papers, and the history of the land, and realized that her own understandings were "unsettled" through this process.[99] Squires recognized that she could never know all of the historical details but would be able to "act as witness to the trauma and violence that occurred in the moment."[100] The tracing and speculating I do in the archives is thus my attempts to act as a witness to the changes in Japanese foodways in the late- and post-World War II period.

My analysis is structured in four sections, each of which represent a different and scaffolded iteration of Japanese foodways. First, I engage "Construction" or the ways in which Japanese people pursued alternate foodways when the state distributed rations became insufficient. Second, I discuss "Participation," examining how American soldiers entered Japanese foodways only to realize their complicity within structures of oppression. Third, I explore "Intervention," which explores shared identity across the

[98] Gordon, *Ghostly Matters,* xvi.
[99] Squires, "Tubman and Jackson on the Twenty Dollar Bill," 12.
[100] Squires, "Tubman and Jackson on the Twenty Dollar Bill," 12.

Nisei (second generation Japanese immigrants), Nikkei (people of Japanese descent), and the Japanese people. And finally, I tackle "Re-Construction," suggesting that the Japanese learn to cook the American way as a means of securing their survival within time characterized by the instability of power.

Construction: Pursuing Alternate Foodways

Japanese people were overwhelmingly hungry during the late-World War II period. Mohan J. Dutta describes hunger as a "bodily response, reflected in the pain felt in the stomach."[101] Nathan Stormer links hunger to a condition of humanity, explaining that it is distinctive, inalterable, and "indiscriminate in that all people are finally subject to it, and it is like clockwork, which makes it terrifying."[102] Hunger thus makes incessant demands; it cannot be banished for any longer than a few hours, and if it is ignored, then the body will "begin to eat itself."[103] I understand hunger as a double-edged sword. Its universal nature makes it a strategic point of orientation, a sensation in-common. However, its negative associations with pain and the fear of self-consumption render hunger a threat. Put differently, hunger carries the potential to serve as a disruption, as a moment of resistance and even revolution. I argue that we see hunger operate in such a way during the total war period, when Japanese people were pushed to explore alternate foodways because of their hunger.

Japanese people could not access food during the total war period. Rice, which has traditionally been understood as a staple of Japanese foodways, was rarely available

[101] Mohan J. Dutta, "Narratives of Hunger: Voices at the Margins of Neoliberal Development," in *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*, ed. Joshua J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, (New York, New York, Boston, Massachusetts: Routledge, 2014), 245.
[102] Nathan Stormer, "An Appetite for Rhetoric," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 48, no. 1 (February 1, 2015): 100.
[103] Stormer, "An Appetite for Rhetoric," 101.

and thus eaten.[104] Whatever rice Japanese people were able to harvest was immediately redirected to the war effort. Goichi Matsunaga, a 15-year-old in Fukuoka during the war, recounted an episode of a policeman coming to their home to check their rice pail. "It was the day after we had already turned in our rice. That was what irritated me the most," he said. "The policeman was just coming to check, to make sure that we had done it."[105] Matsunaga remembered the policeman's reaction to the empty pail, "Alright. That's good."[106] The words were not of praise, but simply an acknowledgment of the Matsunaga family's satisfactory contribution. This condescension made Matsunaga's blood boil. As a family of rice farmers, they were to give up the fruits of their labor to serve the nation, only to go hungry themselves. The anger evident in Matsunaga's voice, still present 60 years after the end of the war, underscores the frustrations Japanese people felt towards their leaders. Furthermore, Matsunaga's unease toward the policeman, a figure of authority tied to the Japanese state, can be interpreted as a silent and budding act of rebellion against state established foodways. During wartime, Japanese foodways were inextricable from national identity. However, Matsunaga's narrative works to resist the compulsions of the state, the adherence to a national identity that supports the war effort.

The hunger also led Japanese people to turn to crime. My grandmother explained that the rations were simply insufficient, leaving people desperate. "The sweet potato that they gave you was smaller than the palm of your hand. And it wasn't even just for the day. We would fight over it. We were so, so hungry. Some people even killed and

---

[104] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 91.
[105] Goichi Matsunaga, interview by NHK, May 4, 2002, digital video, NHK Senso Archives, Tokyo, Japan.
[106] Matsunaga, interview by NHK.

ate stray dogs," she said.[107] The desperation was observed in the way some cut the vines of sweet potatoes into thin pieces, cooking them into whatever rice they had left to make their stomachs full[108]; it was also observed in the way others ate wild grass, quickly learning which are poisonous and which are not.[109] Seiichi Morimura, a 12-year-old in Saitama prefecture who worked on a farm during the war, explained that the newspapers had explanations on how to eat garbage and how to eat insects.[110] But regardless of such information distributed by the state, or the creative strategies attempted by Japanese people, there was simply not enough food. As government control over food continued to tighten, desperation blurred the lines of morality. Stealing became the norm. "For us, eating something meant picking something up off of the ground. First, we pick things up. Then, we steal. There was not even a shred of morality. We needed to survive," said Morimura.[111] He explained the ritual of stealing as a type of classical conditioning in which, "if we saw something, we instinctively stole it."[112] My grandmother also recalled the normalcy of theft during wartime. She described bringing pails of fertilizer, which were really the buckets that they used as a toilet, to the bank of the Kamogawa river.[113] "We would work the soil and plant squash and other vegetables, but it would all be stolen. You would think they'd be punished from the heavens. But the gods wouldn't do anything," said my grandmother. This narrative reveals how my grandmother recognized theft as a punishable act, but no longer considered the state to be a force of authority.

---

[107] Taka Harii (grandmother), in conversation with the author, Tokyo, Japan, Summer 2015.
[108] Nobuya Sasaki, Taiichi Yamada, and Asako Kishi's interviews describe similar strategies of sweet potato use.
[109] Asako Kishi, interview by NHK, May 4, 2002, digital video, NHK Senso Archives, Tokyo, Japan.
[110] Seiichi Morimura, interview by NHK, May 4, 2002, digital video, NHK Senso Archives, Tokyo, Japan.
[111] Morimura, interview by NHK.
[112] Morimura, interview by NHK.
[113] Taka Harii (grandmother), in conversation with the author, Tokyo, Japan, Summer 2015.

Instead, my grandmother transfers accountability to higher spiritual powers, whom she also has failed her. Morimura's narrative also reveals how state power was weakening across the nation. The Japanese government failed to feed its people and its people were now forced to find alternate means of survival.

These stories of hunger have revealed a rejection of the state established "self," or national identity. Dutta underscores how such "localized narratives of hunger" are effective in "talk[ing] back" to dominant epistemic structures.[114] In fact, these hunger narratives reveal "multitude of ways in which individuals, communities, and families enact their agency as they seek access to food within specific policy contexts where access to food becomes more and more scarce."[115] The hunger narratives shared by Japanese people thus reveal how feelings of anger and committing crime were two avenues through which the authority of state power was questioned and challenged during war. However, hunger narratives also orient us toward another enactment of agency: trading items on the black market.

When Japanese people could no longer rely on the state for sustainable rations, they began pursuing their own paths for survival. I refer to the increased trading of materials on so-called black markets, acts of *butsubutsukōkan*. Most of the black markets consisted of food items that the government now outlawed possession of, including rice and vegetables. The black market trade began as *kaidashi,* which Enka Sanyutei, 16-years-old at the time of war, defined as "going to farming families and asking them to sell you rice and potatoes." [116] Kon Omura, a 13-year-old in Kobe at the

[114] Dutta, "Narratives of Hunger: Voices at the Margins of Neoliberal Development," 239.
[115] Dutta, "Narratives of Hunger: Voices at the Margins of Neoliberal Development," 239.
[116] Enka Sanyutei, interview by NHK, May 4, 2002, digital video, NHK Senso Archives, Tokyo, Japan.

time of the war, explained that "urban folk would ride trains into the countryside, knocking on doors and saying, 'Excuse me! Please share some rice with us. If you don't have some rice, some grains would be fine.'" He recounted an episode of traveling to the countryside for food with his father but arriving a few days too late; the farming families had already run out of things to trade. "The elderly grandma said, 'You poor thing, wait a minute,' and steamed us some potatoes. There wasn't salt or anything, but it was delicious. My dad gave me his, so I ate almost two!" exclaimed Omura. Farming families would engage urban folk in trades for food.[117] Luxury items were often traded, including kimonos, watches, jewelry, and other treasured possessions.[118] This phenomenon was described in one of the most famous phrases of the time, *takenoko seikatsu* or "bamboo-shoot existence."[119] Edible bamboo shoots can be peeled off in layers, and *takenoko seikatsu* thus referred to city people stripping off their clothing and other possessions for food.[120] Sanyutei explained that when people began bringing kimonos to barter for rice, this set off a chain reaction in which others also brought their fancy clothing.[121] This was when the black market trade turned from *kaidashi* into *butsubutsukōkan*.[122] What began as a practice of farming families gifting food to urban folk through empathy and care became a structured form of food trade. I argue that the systemization of the black market reflects the scale on which state-sanctioned foodways were failing. Japanese people were abandoning the constraints of national identity in favor of their own survival.

[117] Sanyutei, interview by NHK.
[118] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 95.
[119] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 95.
[120] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 95.
[121] Sanyutei, interview by NHK.
[122] Sanyutei, interview by NHK.

Japanese people were "the hungry." The consequences of their hunger were observed in the fall of state authority and rejection of national identity. Access to and consumption of food came to outweigh the imperial logics embedded within state sanctioned foodways. The hunger narratives reveal how Japanese people refused to simply wither away. Instead, they constructed alternate foodways—stealing and black market trading—as avenues of resistance. I argue that the Japanese people' experiences with hunger positioned them to be open to alternate foodways. Specifically, the Japanese people' rejection of imperial national identity enabled possibilities for transcolonial intimacies, for collectively constructing alternate foodways.

Participation: Realizing Complicity

Hunger continued to be a central theme of the post-World War II years in Japan. Defeat not only severed Japan from the food supplies of Asia, but the timing of the defeat was during mid-summer when the previous year's rice harvest was running out.[123] In fact, 1945 saw the most disastrous harvest since 1910.[124] This was devastating timing, as Japan was now cut off from its colonies with millions of exhausted civilians and demobilized soldiers about to return.[125] Specifically, more than six million military men and civilians were repatriated from the colonies and occupied territories and needed to be fed.[126] Thus, while the total war period was tough on Japanese people, hunger was most severe in the immediate post-war years.[127] The Japanese lack of food during this time was contrasted by the American abundance of food.

[123] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 93.
[124] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 93.
[125] Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, 93.
[126] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 137.
[127] Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 133.

American soldiers stationed in Occupied Japan never wanted for food. This is observed within the Donald Swann papers, particularly in a letter in which Swann, a white American soldier from the midwestern United States, sent to his family on December 25, 1945, which detailed the Christmas dinner soldiers ate that evening. Swann explained that the meal consisted of special holiday foods, and the only trouble was that "one's appetite was long exhausted before an impression could hardly be made on the mountains of luscious foods on the table before us."[128] In fact, Swann wrote, "the food we threw out would probably feed the whole city of Hachinohe for several days."[129] This letter reveals two things: first, American military bases in Japan were well equipped with food, and had strong trade routes capable of importing specialty foods for specific holidays; second, Swann and other American soldiers were aware of the dire food situation that lay beyond their military base.

However, American soldiers were prohibited from engaging in Japanese foodways. Former occupational soldier John Howes recalled that contact with the Japanese was considered illegal. "You couldn't eat Japanese food, you couldn't travel on trains with Japanese, you couldn't stay in Japanese houses," he said.[130] The illegality of sharing and eating Japanese food was attributed to two factors: the unsanitary nature of the Japanese food process and the very limited food supply in Japan. First, American occupational soldiers shared a common belief that Japanese produce and water was poisonous and unsanitary. Dallas Finn, the wife of an occupational soldier, remembered

---

[128] Correspondence from Donald H. Swann to his family, 25 December 1945, Donald H. Swann Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[129] Correspondence from Donald H. Swann to his family, 25 December 1945, Swann Papers, Prange Collection.
[130] John Howes, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, March 29, 1979, in Los Angeles, California, digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA, 17.

what she described as a "curious psychological feeling" that "there was something maybe kind of dangerous and poisonous about Japanese food."[131] Finn explained that there were signs in the commissary "telling you not to drink the water in effect, that Japanese vegetables were very different."[132] Edward Griffin echoed this sentiment of fear for Japanese food, claiming that there was the feeling of Japanese food being unsanitary and unsafe.[133] This rhetoric was also shared by Swann, who had been invited by the Japanese train station staff to "attend their new year's celebration at which rice cake and sake will be served," but refused because "the nips [*sic*] aren't exactly famous for their cleanliness."[134] The discriminatory attitudes toward Japanese people, combined with the use of derogatory wartime slang, paints the scene of post-World War II foodways between Japanese people and American soldiers. Specifically, the foodways of Japanese people existed separately from the foodways of American soldiers.

This was further reinforced in the way American soldiers were instructed to avoid Japanese food because of their limited supply. Otis Cary, a former occupational soldier, described the situation in Japan as "rock-bottom" when he first arrived.[135] Children were incredibly malnourished, and Jules Bassin, a former occupational soldier, recalled seeing Japanese children running around with bloated stomachs and rosy cheeks

---

[131] Dallas Finn, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, November 29, 1979, in Glen Echo, Maryland, digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Edward Griffin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, February 17, 1979, in College Park, Maryland, digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA, 18-19.
[134] Correspondence from Donald H. Swann to his family, December 25, 1945, Donald H. Swann Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[135] Otis Cary, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, May 28, 1981, in Kyoto, Japan, digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

only to realize that "there's a nutritional deficiency and those kids were really sick." [136] Comparatively, American soldiers had an abundance of food at their disposal. Morimura recalled how he and other Japanese children would watch curiously from a distance as American soldiers ate their C-ration cans.[137] "Yesterday they were enemies and we called them 'demonic.' Today they're washing their cars next to us. And then they eat, but they eat messily and leave a lot of garbage," said Morimura.[138] He and the other boys quickly learned that the garbage was actually leftover scraps of food, which they called "piles of deliciousness."[139] One man's trash was quite literally another man's treasure. This anecdote thus underscores the difference in quantity, and power, between Japanese and American foodways in the post-World War II period.

However, American occupational soldiers and Japanese people still found opportunities to interact through practices of *butsubutsukōkan*—the foodways Japanese people constructed when the state failed to feed them. American occupational soldiers and Japanese people found opportunities for friendship and enjoying meals together, which led to experiences of eating foreign foods and indigestible reckoning. As the Occupation continued, American soldiers developed relationships with the Japanese people whom they saw and interacted with on a regular basis. As a result, American soldiers would sometimes share their food, merging their foodways. Emerson Chapin, a former occupational soldier, described how he would visit Japanese friends in Oiso.

---

[136] Jules Bassin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, October 9, 1979, in Washington, D.C., digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[137] Bassin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.
[138] Bassin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.
[139] Bassin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.

"We'd take American food, and then we'd have *sukiyaki* parties with their food."[140] The Japanese dish *sukiyaki*—prepared and served in a shallow iron pot consisting of meat, vegetables, and other ingredients simmering in a mixture of soy sauce, sugar, and sweet rice wine—was perhaps most representative of the *butsubutsukōkan* that occurred between American soldiers and Japanese people. Chapin remembered how his Japanese friends would "save up if they were going to invite Americans in…A number of times we were invited out [to Japanese homes] and a *sukiyaki* dinner would be the thing. They figured this is something that Americans would like."[141] I propose that *sukiyaki* was one food through which Japanese foodways and American foodways merged, inviting American soldiers to eat and experience the Other. As a result, I argue that American soldiers experienced indigestible reckoning, which forced them to confront their biases and acknowledge the humanity of the Japanese people and reflect on their role as agents of domination. For American soldiers, *sukiyaki* offered the opportunity to unlearn stereotypes against Japanese people and to experience discomfort in their colonial complicity. Donald Keene, who was in Japan during December 1945 trying to locate families of prisoners of war, described *sukiyaki* dinners as an evening spent as if he was part of a Japanese family. [142] "We talked Japanese with them but of course it induced feelings of warmth and friendliness," said Keene.[143] He emphasized that these interactions counteracted ideas of the Japanese being "dirty and smelly" [144] and "that you

[140] Emerson Chapin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, February 9, 1979, in Washington, D.C., digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[141] Chapin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.
[142] Donald Keene, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, May 14, 1982, in Columbia, New York, digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.
[143] Keene, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.
[144] Chapin, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.

could never tell what they're thinking." [145] *Sukiyaki* dinners were thus an opportunity for American soldiers to disrupt their preconceived biases of Japanese people. I thus suggest that transcolonial intimacies were forged during these meals, as American soldiers and Japanese people sidestepped the enmeshed vectors of colonial power to indulge in a moment of shared humanity.

When American soldiers participated in Japanese foodways, when they willingly ate the Other, they were thrust into processes of indigestible reckoning. American soldier attending a *sukiyaki* dinner were welcomed with an amount of food which, for them, was an average singular meal. However, these soldiers understood that this quantity was worth several meals for their Japanese friends. Frank Langdon, a former occupational soldier, recounted a moment of reckoning. "We were reluctant to eat too much of their food from the Japanese because they had so little. And it was always embarrassing because the Japanese always put on a nice meal, and you never knew whether you were eating up a week's worth of their food wasted on you for one meal," he said.[146] Here, I am forced to speculate about Langdon's experience dining with his Japanese friends. I wonder if he walked in and sat at the dining table (was there a dining table? Perhaps he sat on the floor on a tatami mat). I wonder if he attempted to eat with a pair of chopsticks, only to have trouble picking up the food. And I wonder if, when he was finally able to place a slice of meat in his mouth and swallow, the food was difficult to digest. I imagine that the taste of *sukiyaki* was new to an American palate. The flavoring of soy sauce, combined with the sweetness of sugar and fermented hint of

[145] Keene, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.
[146] Frank Langdon, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, May 19, 1981, in Tokyo, Japan, digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA, 41.

sake, might have been difficult to consume. And even if he was able to ingest the *sukiyaki,* the dinner probably left a strange aftertaste. I suggest that this strangeness of Japanese food stuck with him, following him back to the military base. After all, consumption of the Other functions by bringing the Other *inside* oneself. The *sukiyaki* dinner likely stayed with Langdon. It certainly moved through his digestive tract, but its affective traces were also present for the weeks, months, and years to come, as evidenced in his recorded conversation with Mayo. Langdon was thus invited to participate in Japanese foodways, and he did. But the sensation of indigestion caused by *sukiyaki* pulled at his gut, becoming a part of his own foodways, orienting him to reckon with his power and privilege as an American soldier.

Black market activities were another avenue through which American soldiers experienced indigestible reckoning. While *sukiyaki* dinners required an invitation from Japanese people to eat their food, to consume the Other, participation in the black market only called for contraband. During the Occupation, many American soldiers would save their tobacco rations and sell them at the black market to desperate Japanese people with nicotine addiction. Several letters Swann wrote to his family indicate that he was an active participant in the black market, selling his rations of cigarettes and beer which could amount to "some $10 or more a month."[147] Wilton Dillon another American soldier who participated in the black market. He said, "I did not collect my tobacco rations nor my spirits. I was told I was crazy to give up the opportunity to engage in

[147] Correspondence from Donald Swann to his family, 6 October 1946, Donald Swann Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

barter. I finally yielded to something that was very, very obnoxious to me."[148] Dillon thus recounted his first and only time standing under an elevated train with a carton of cigarettes in his hand, "besieged by Japanese who were competing with each other to buy tobacco…it was so painful an experience to take money from people who looked hungry and poorly fed, who wanted tobacco more than they wanted food."[149] Holding the carton of cigarettes symbolized a material manifestation of power. The way in which he was swarmed by the starved and desperate Japanese people only confirmed that. They did not have, and therefore they wanted what *he* had.

The black market was not an intimate dinner hosted at a Japanese friend's house, there was no *sukiyaki* to be consumed. Yet, Dillon was still positioned to participate in Japanese foodways because of the cigarettes he held in his hand. Japanese people were desperate for cigarettes, evident in a letter Donald Swann wrote which was dated October 24, 1945. Swann contemplated what he should do with the mountain of cigarettes he accumulated as rations and considered "palm[ing] them off on the fag [*sic*] starved Japs [*sic*] who I understand will even give up old family pictures and heirlooms for them."[150] Although Swann does not explicitly note this, it can be inferred that Japanese people were willing to forego food on occasion to feed their cigarette addiction. I thus argue that Dillon's cigarettes functioned as blockage within Japanese civilian foodways. In other words, Dillon's cigarettes interfered with the Japanese civilian foodways of *butsubutsukōkan* constructed to combat state-induced hunger in the

[148] Wilton Dillon, interview by Marlene J. Mayo, March 24, 1979, in Washington, D.C., digital transcript, Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 30-31.
[149] Dillon, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.
[150] Correspondence from Donald H. Swann to his family, October 24, 1945, Donald H. Swann Papers, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, USA.

late-World War II period. Dillon recalled, "I couldn't help but feel the opium traders and what we've done, not the guilt of being descendants of slaves but in a way the guilt of our association with people who had brought tobacco into the bloodstream of the Japanese."[151] Dillon's experience of indigestible reckoning was thus sparked by his complicity introducing cigarettes, a form of foodways blockage, into the black market. He was unable to shake the bodily sensation of discomfort, the indigestible reckoning, that stuck with him for decades.

The transcolonial intimacies I observe here are forged through Japanese civilian foodways, as American soldiers reflect on their abundance of food and power. The feelings of indigestible reckoning jolt them into an awareness of the power structures that they themselves are part of. Through this process, American soldiers recognize the humanity of the Japanese people whom they have been conditioned to view as Other. However, I speculate that this merging of self and Other worked both ways. I think of the Japanese people who invited the American soldiers to their homes. Did they genuinely want to befriend the soldiers? Or were they motivated by the resources American soldiers had access to? It may have been a mix of both. But when the American soldiers came to their homes dressed in their personal clothes, ducking through the too-small doorways, and fumbling with the eating utensils they could not control, I speculate that American soldiers were humanized in the eyes of the Japanese people. This same recognition could have occurred at the black market. As Japanese people desperately forked over family heirlooms for a pack of cigarettes, they may have felt shame and even disgust for their addiction. But I speculate that the Japanese people

[151] Dillon, interview by Marlene J. Mayo.

also felt those same emotions toward the Americans who greedily engaged in this exchange, raking in wealth at their expense. This also humanized the American soldiers, bringing them to eye level—or, in the interest of indigestion, stomach level—with the Japanese people. I thus argue that the selling/purchasing of cigarettes also incited indigestible reckoning and fostered transcolonial intimacies. American soldiers participated in foodways constructed by the Japanese people, bringing their abundance to the hungry. In doing so, Japanese foodways continued stretching, digesting, and shifting to accommodate alternate flows of power. The post-war donations from the Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LARA) were also an American influence which changed Japanese foodways during the Occupation.

Intervention: Finding Common Ground

LARA was crucial to securing resources for Japanese people in the post-World War II period. LARA was part of a SCAP's larger effort to "spread Christianity and democracy throughout the world," although the LARA relief program was better known for their volunteers' commitment to "humanitarian rather than evangelical concerns."[152] Esther B. Rhoads was part of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), an organization guided by Quaker belief to work for "a just, peaceful, and sustainable world free of violence, inequality, and oppression."[153] Rhoads was a prewar Quaker missionary teacher in Japan, who returned in the summer of 1946 and saw firsthand the devastation and desperation that was present in the post-war environment.[154] This experience

[152] Thomas S. Rogers, "The Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia: Esther B. Rhoads and Humanitarian Efforts in Postwar Japan, 1946-1952," *Quaker History* 83, no. 1 (March 1994): 18.
[153] "About," American Friends Service Committee, accessed February 28, 2024. https://afsc.org/about.
[154] Rogers, "The Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia," 19.

motivated Rhoads to organize aid through LARA, leading the charge to help Japanese people access material resources including food, clothes, and medical supplies. According to Marlene J. Mayo, the final reports Rhoads compiled in 1952 revealed the following data on financial contributions:

> During almost six years of operation, November 1946 to June 1952, LARA had contributed 33,378,959 pounds of supplementary relief supplies in 456 shiploads…helping an estimated 14 million Japanese. The largest donor — at $4,199,000, or 50 percent in pounds — was the ecumenical Church World Service, which also channeled food shipments from the Christian Rural Overseas project (CROP). The AFSC, as a single agency with a small presence in Japan, contributed approximately 25 percent of the total, almost $2,808,000, or 7,355,203 pounds. The share of National Catholic Welfare was 10 percent, valued at $1,957,000. In another tabulation, the Honolulu LARA was fourth, at $545,000, and the Lutheran World Service fifth, at $530,000. Nikkei donors in South America (Argentina, Brazil, and Peru) contributed more than $600,000 overall. The Brethren Service Committee donated $15,552 and the Mennonite Central Committee $13,768.[155]

Although SCAP remained the primary distributor of aid in post-war Japan, these figures reveal both the number of organizations working together and the amount of aid LARA was able to contribute to the Japanese people.

LARA was bound to operate in Occupied Japan as part of MacArthur's democratization agenda.[156] MacArthur did not expect LARA to be the primary supplier of relief materials to the Japanese people, and instead, found value in LARA playing a "a symbolic role by serving as a model to the Japanese of an American Christian, democratic and egalitarian institution."[157] It is worth noting that MacArthur was more

---

[155] Marlene J. Mayo, "A Friend in Need: Esther B. Rhoads, Quakers, and Humanitarian Relief in Allied Occupied Japan, 1946–52," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 50, no. 1 (2016): 77-78. Mayo based these figures on several reports in the Rhoads Papers, including "LARA, Sending Agencies," "Summary of Total LARA Shipments," "Report on LARA Relief Supplies (November 1946-Hybe 1952)," and "LARA< Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia>."

[156] Mayo, "A Friend in Need," 55.

[157] Rogers, "The Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia," 20.

invested in the "spiritual dimension" of LARA's relief work.[158] However, LARA's official statement of purpose "contains no explicit recognition of religious motivation for extending relief to Asia."[159] In fact, the AFSC published a "Memorandum on Conditions in Japan," which explicitly delinked relief efforts from religion. The memorandum notes,

> Christianity has a place in the Japanese mind, if not always in orthodox form, and the nature of our contribution "would be recognized, perhaps even more fully than it is in China. But Christianity is not inseparable from Western democracy, and we must be careful to avoid that implication, emphasizing the natural growth of a sincerely Japanese ethic.[160]

One point of contention was thus between LARA's relief efforts and MacArthur's agenda was thus the different emphasis placed on Christianity. While MacArthur continued to perceive Japan as the Other that must be tamed under his control, LARA leaders recognized the nation's individuality and sought to respect its own path to democracy. I argue that this difference was grounded in the way LARA leaders were removed from the institution of American militarism and imperialism, and consequently able to recognize a shared humanity with the Japanese people.

LARA leaders sought to befriend the Japanese people but were conscious of the obstacles, namely the power difference. In the same memorandum, the AFSC wrote, "The Japanese mind seems to do what it is told, to make a mechanical readjustment a charged situation in a wholesale fashion with little personal understanding or

---

[158] Rogers, "The Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia," 21.
[159] Rogers, "The Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia," 24.
[160] Memorandum on Conditions in Japan, A Report on Post-WWII Relief Needs in Japan (Archives), American Friends Service Committee, 12 December 1945, https://afsc.org/archive/report-post-wwii-relief-needs-japan, 6.

decision."[161] Although the Japanese people may have high levels of social intelligence, the AFSC were concerned that the current predicament would made it a "difficult situation in which to fit as F(f)riends."[162] Despite such reservations, Samuel D. Marble, in charge of the Japan Desk of the AFSC and chairman of the committee on Japan (LARA) of the American Committee of Voluntary Agencies, wrote an article titled "Relief in Japan — An Opportunity for Friendship" in the Foreign Service Bulletin. The piece was published in August 1946, and emphasized the importance of uniting the two countries as friends. Marble notes that the Japanese have extended a hand of friendship to the US, and yet, there is "still a reluctance to reach out and honestly seize the fact of a common humanity."[163] The relief program was thus "an effort to respond with the hand of friendship."[164] Marble's article illustrates how LARA was guided by a shared recognition of humanity with the Japanese people, and was actively calling upon other Americans to follow suit. This contrasted with MacArthur's staunch fixation on the Japanese as Other, a stance with which Rhoads herself expressed frustration.[165]

MacArthur maintained wartime perceptions of the Japanese as a threat. During World War II, Japanese Americans in the US had been sent to concentration camps.[166] These Japanese Americans were viewed with suspicion because of their assumed

---

[161] Memorandum on Conditions in Japan, 5.
[162] Memorandum on Conditions in Japan, 5.
[163] Samuel D. Marble, Article titled "Relief in Japan – An Opportunity for Friendship" published in the Foreign Service Bulletin, August 1946, A Report on Post-WWII Relief Needs in Japan (Archives), American Friends Service Committee, https://afsc.org/archive/report-post-wwii-relief-needs-japan.
[164] Marble, "Relief in Japan — An Opportunity for Friendship."
[165] Mayo, "A Friend in Need," 65.
[166] Wendy L. Ng, *Japanese American Internment during World War II: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2002), xiii. Here, Ng explains that the terms internment and relocation were used by the government to describe the overall removal and detainment program, but that more scholars now prefer to use the term "concentration camp," albeit on a milder scale compared to the Nazi death camps in Europe.

proximity to Japan.[167] MacArthur's response to certain LARA relief donors reflected his unchanging attitude towards anyone Japanese-related as a threat. For example, the Nikkei in Hawai'i, North America, and Latin America were active contributors to the relief channels, but American forces were distrustful of their motivation and wary of their potentially "subversive influences."[168] Furthermore, in January 1948, MacArthur invited Rhoads and other LARA representatives to his office to offer them his personal gratitude.[169] Here MacArthur said he was pleased to learn that 80 percent of the aid came from "white Americans" instead of Nisei or others of Japanese ancestry.[170] In spite of such discrimination by the supreme commander of the Allied Occupation, I argue that Nisei and Nikkei were able to foster transcolonial intimacies with Japanese people through LARA, by contributing to Japanese foodways.

Individuals of Japanese descent contributed greatly to LARA relief efforts. The Issei (first generation Japanese immigrants) and Nisei were motivated to repay the aid they had received while in concentration camps.[171] During the war, Japan sent supplies such as soy sauce to Japanese Americans, which "eased difficulties in their unbearable lives in the camps."[172] Although the Issei and Nissei proposed an initiative to aid to Japan, they were denied by the US government, which prompted them to approach other organizations that shared the goal of providing humanitarian relief.[173] Furthermore,

---

[167] Ng, *Japanese American Internment during World War II*, 12.
[168] Mayo, "A Friend in Need," 72.
[169] Mayo, "A Friend in Need," 75.
[170] Mayo, "A Friend in Need," 75.
[171] N.A.P Staff, "LARA: Mutual Compassion, Strong Ties Between Nikkei and Japanese After WWII," *The North American Post*, September 14, 2023, https://napost.com/2023/story-0908/#:~:text=LARA%20stands%20for%20Licensed%20Agencies,organizations%20and%20social%20activist%20groups.
[172] N.A.P Staff, "LARA: Mutual Compassion, Strong Ties Between Nikkei and Japanese After WWII."
[173] N.A.P Staff, "LARA: Mutual Compassion, Strong Ties Between Nikkei and Japanese After WWII."

Nikkei were also donors to the cause. In fact, the "Public Health and Welfare Technical Bulletin" published by LARA in January 1948 estimated that "persons of Japanese ancestry have contributed about 15% of the total amount of LARA relief supplies received to date."[174] The Nisei and Nikkei were integral participants in the LARA relief efforts but were uniquely positioned compared to other organizations who were co-collaborators in the movement. The Nisei and Nikkei shared ethnic and cultural foodways with the Japanese people, and thus shared identity, in ways that other contributors to LARA did not. Thus, for the Nisei and Nikkei, the Japanese people were never truly Other. I argue that the circulation of food under LARA relief efforts only worked to strengthen this shared sense of self.

Japanese newspaper coverage of LARA relief efforts highlighted connections with Nisei and Nikkei donors. An article published in *Kahoku Shimpō* on March 7, 1949, for example, describes a LARA appreciation event hosted in Sendai.[175] Mr. Kawasaki, a representative from the LARA headquarters, was present. After the formal greetings, "participants gathered around Mr. Kawasaki to converse about American religious organizations, the situation of Japanese Americans, and the situation of children."[176] The interaction reveals the connection that Japanese people were imagining with Japanese Americans. As Japanese people consumed the donated food, they became oriented to the Other, which in this case was the Nisei. This process enabled the Japanese people to see

[174] Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LARA) Public Health and Welfare Technical Bulletin, January 1948, A Report on Post-WWII Relief Needs in Japan (Archives), American Friends Service Committee, https://afsc.org/archive/report-post-wwii-relief-needs-japan.
[175] "『おかげで丈夫に』｜お話や踊りに賑うララ感謝会/'We are Okay Because of You | Conversations and Dances at the LARA Appreciation Event," *河北新報/Kahoku News,* March 7, 1949, Gordon W. Prange Collection.
[176] Ibid.

themselves within the Japanese Americans, to build transcolonial intimacies. Furthermore, an article published in *Kita Nihon Shimbun* on May 18, 1948, emphasized the role Nikkei individuals have played in securing supplies for the Japanese people.[177] It noted that a new round of LARA relief has arrived carrying clothes and food, and that this includes donation sent by Argentinian and Brazilian Nikkei who were "concerned for their home country."[178] The use of the term "home country" here is striking, particularly as Japanese national identity during wartime was closely tied to the consumption of Japanese food. However, the supplies included unfamiliar foods for the Japanese people, such as flour, corned beef, vegetable oil, and corn syrup.[179] The language here indicates two things. First, as with the Nisei, Japanese people were able to recognize shared identity with the Nikkei donors. Second, at this point in time, Japanese people were no longer conceptualizing Japanese food as tied to national identity. The binary between self and Other was arguably as permeable as ever.

Re-Construction: Cooking the American Way

As foreign foods were implemented into Japanese rations, the Japanese people had to quickly learn how to cook and eat them. The hunger that characterized late- and post-World War II Japan was being addressed through the LARA relief efforts, but Japanese people still had to adjust their culinary practices. Put differently, Japanese people had to learn how to consume and digest the Other. To begin, I briefly return to the discussion

[177] "本縣へララ物資｜南米邦人の心もこめて/LARA Relief Supplies to the Home Country | From Nikkei with Love," 北日本新聞/*Kitanippon Newspaper,* May 18, 1948, Gordon W. Prange Collection.
[178] Ibid.
[179] "ララ物資｜アルゼンチンから到着; 横濱に最大量のララ物資が到着/LARA Relief Supplies | Arriving from Argentina: Largest Shipment Ever Arrives in Yokohama," 佐世保時事新聞/*Sasebo Shimbun*, January 4, 1948, Gordon W. Prange Collection.

on construction, particularly how state-established foodways failed the Japanese people and required the building of alternatives such as *butsubutsukōkan*. Although Emperor Hirohito only announced the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, I have suggested that the Japanese people removed themselves from the compulsions of national identity far before then. This section serves as a bookend to such conversations about the changing Japanese foodways during this time. Specifically, I argue that this stage of post-war foodways not only marked the conclusion of Japanese imperialism, but more importantly, signaled the positioning of Japan as a "client state" of the US.[180]

The loss of war not only signaled Japan's loss of empire, but it also represented Japan's submission to the US. Gavan McCormack describes the post-war relationship as the phenomenon of *zokkoku,* the "dependent, servile or 'Client State' syndrome."[181] A client state is separate from other forms of colonial, neo-colonial, or other directly dominated territories.[182] Rather, a client state is "tied vertically to their 'patron,' are structurally incapable of dissent."[183] I suggest that the importation of American culinary practices into Japanese foodways was one form of survival-acquiescence. So far, this chapter has illustrated how the late- and post-World War II period found Japanese foodways to be in despicable conditions. The Japanese people needed to rely on American power to secure food during the Occupation. Thus, the move to embrace foreign rations and American ways of cooking, to prepare to eat the Other, was a conscious and survival-based choice.

---

[180] Gavan McCormack, *Client State: Japan in the American Embrace* (London ; New York, NY: Verso, 2007).
[181] McCormack, *Client State,* 45.
[182] McCormack, *Client State,* 45.
[183] McCormack, *Client State,* 48.

Various women's magazines published articles which offered instructions on how to cook foreign rations. The foreign rations in question included items such as: sugar, rice flour, chocolate, green beans, tomatoes, carrots, lard, powdered milk, rice, and soybeans.[184] But as my grandmother's anecdote about cheese reveals, not all Japanese people understood how to consume these materials. Thus, women's magazines came to include recipes on how to incorporate these foods into the Japanese diet. For example, an article in *Shufu to Seikatsu* is titled, "Flour-Based Cooking for Main Dishes: Using Rationed Powder Well."[185] This article urges for readers to use the proper amount of flour in their cooking and offers recipes that range in familiarity to the Japanese reader: *udon* noodles, spaghetti, and wontons.[186] More recipes for cooking American dishes were published in the magazine *Eiyo to Ryōri.* The article titled "Making Western Home Cooked Meals with Rations," promoted recipes such as pumpkin pie, vegetable loaf, macaroni gratin, corn soup, and peanut butter.[187] Even pamphlets published by the Ministry of Health and Welfare, a branch of the Japanese government, instructed Japanese people on how to cook with foreign ingredients, including recipes for dishes such as pudding, bread (steamed and baked), and pancakes.[188] The Japanese people quickly adapted out of necessity, relying on these publications to learn how to

---

[184] See "今度は結核患者に｜ララ物資/This Time for Tuberculosis Patients | LARA Relief," *北日本新聞/Kitanippon Newspaper,* June 6, 1949, Gordon W. Prange Collection; "ララ物資｜三カ月分配給計画/LARA Relief | Three Month Ration Plan," *上毛新聞/Jomo Shimbun*, July 12, 1949, Gordon W. Prange Collection.

[185] "配給の粉を上手に使つた主食の小麦粉料理：食べあきない調理色々/Flour-Based Cooking for Main Dishes: Using Rationed Powder Well," 主婦と生活 / *Shufu to Seikatsu,* August 1, 1946, Gordon W. Prange Collection.

[186] Ibid.

[187] "配給材料で出来る洋風家庭料理/ Making Western Home Cooked Meals with Rations," *栄養と料理/Eiyo to Ryori*, October 25, 1946, Gordon W. Prange Collection.

[188]厚生省衛生局保健課/Ministry of Health and Welfare, "輸入食品の食べ方（その二）/How to Eat Imported Foods (Part 2),"*栄養と料理/Eiyo to Ryori,* October 25, 1946, Gordon W. Prange Collection.

implement foreign ingredients into their foodways. Eating the Other was a process of survival, made possible by the detailed recipes which the Japanese people followed to avoid indigestion.

The need to rely on US foodways decreased as Japan's economy recovered. However, the incorporation of American ingredients and American dishes in Japanese foodways remained. I suggest that the Japanese people's choice to continue consuming American food in a post-Occupation world reflects two things. First, Japanese foodways are no longer explicitly tied to national identity in the way that it was during total war. Second, the US influence has been integrated into Japanese foodways. Although the Occupation of Japan ended in 1952, American ingredients such as cheese remain a staple in the Japanese kitchen. These points illustrate the relationship cultivated between Japan and the US in a post-World War II world. In sum, Japanese foodways have changed through the Occupation, relying on American ingredients and thus American imports. This dependence reflects the ongoing position of Japan as a client state of the US.

Conclusion

Occupied Japan took place in the aftermath of a collision and rupture of two imperial and colonial powers. The end of this war had a clear separation between victor and vanquished. The US entered Japan in 1945 and saw absolute devastation. But the Japanese people were survivors, evident in the foodways they constructed when their nation failed to provide them with sufficient rations. As Americans continued to reside in Japan, they were gradually drawn into Japanese foodways. This was partly observed in the American soldiers who began eating Japanese food and trading on the black

market, thus participating in foodways constructed by the Japanese people. This was also observed through LARA, as Americans such as Rhoads saw the dire state of Japan and mobilized relief efforts. As a result, there were two complementary forms of eating the Other which occurred, triggering processes of indigestible reckoning within the eater. Specifically, American soldiers consumed Japanese food and reckoned with their abundance of power; Japanese people consumed foreign ingredients in their rations and accepted dependence upon US foodways as a means of survival. I describe these changes to Japanese foodways through four overlapping stages: construction, participation, intervention, and re-construction. I emphasize the non-linearity of this process, divesting from a narrative that considers foodways to ever be "fixed." In other words, foodways involving imperial and colonial flows of power are never fully mended, nor are they ever fastened securely in position. This chapter has argued that foodways remain fluid, reflecting vectors of both domination and resistance as the Other is consumed and (in)digested.

I started this chapter with a haunting anecdote from my grandmother, which guided me toward bearing witness to the changing Japanese foodways during Occupied Japan, and I end it by returning to her voice. There is one phrase from our conversation that I remember, the same one I discussed in the introduction of this dissertation. It is her repeated use of the phrase, "*nasakenai, hontoni nasakenai*/it's pathetic, really pathetic." I also remember the way her breath paused between sentences, her voice choking on a foreign object still stuck in her throat after all these decades. I never asked her who or what exactly she was referring to when describing her wartime experiences as pathetic. My opportunity to do so died along with her, years ago. So, I speculate. I wonder if my

grandmother was referring to the way that war stole two of her older brothers who were drafted to the frontlines and never returned. War is pathetic in the way it steals lives. Maybe she was thinking of the sights she witnessed, the neighbors she might have seen begging for food or the children she saw stealing her homegrown vegetables. War is pathetic in the way it makes thieves. Or, she might have been reliving the anger she felt towards the government for abandoning them, starving them, killing them in exchange for a too-late surrender. War is pathetic in the way a nation fools its people. I imagine that it is all of these things combined that have sat with her, sat *within* her, feeding her indigestion. Whatever refused to be processed in her body has now found its way inside mine.

When we engage in the intimate act of consuming food, it becomes a part of us. But I suggest that the discourse of food, included within the process of foodways, cannot be understated. My grandmother's voice is food discourse, which I have sought to place in conversation with other archival materials and oral histories. By approaching these texts with a critical rhetorical perspective that recognizes foodways as inherently concerned with power, I have recovered processes of reckoning that allow for mutual recognitions of humanity, for the fostering of transcolonial intimacies. And finally, just like the ongoing processes foodways, these iterations of reckoning are also repeated, continuing to haunt the next generation.

Conclusion: Reverberations Continue

Tracing Transcolonial Intimacies began as a project of recovery, to better understand my grandmother's experiences navigating World War II and the Occupation of Japan. But as I delved into the research, I have found that this became much more about resistance. The myriad vectors of coloniality dehumanize and divide, but the relationships we cultivate resist such impulses, working to rehumanize and connect. Relationality, then, is resistance. This dissertation seeks to illuminate what has traditionally been obfuscated by binary dichotomies of colonizer and colonized, and by the discipline's tendency to value knowledge and practice that is legible to white men. I thus take a relational approach to rhetorical studies, to highlight the relational resistance of transcolonial intimacies forged during the Occupation of Japan.

I have suggested the earthquake metaphor to capture the exigencies characterizing transcolonial intimacies during the Occupation of Japan. The collision of two tectonic plates (the conflict between the Japanese and US empires), followed by the subversion of one plate (the surrender of the Japanese empire), leads to earthquakes which echo in multiple directions (the body waves representing the vectors of coloniality, and the surface waves representing the transcolonial intimacies). Reverberations offer the scope to engage these seismic waves, to capture the essence of social movements cutting across time and space. I understand the movement of reverberations as the cornerstone for "generat[ing] new knowledge, new theories, new questions."[1] And while I hope that my dissertation similarly generates knowledge,

[1] Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, 9.

theories, and questions in whoever reads this, I first return what some might call the epicenter—the central research questions which I posed in the opening pages.

In the introduction, I offered a transcolonial framework and the concept of transcolonial intimacies. This approach positioned me to address my first research question *(In a world that constructs difference through colonial power, what strategies can we deploy to work together across difference? Alternatively, how can subjects occupying different positionalities create subversive coalitions across restrictive and oppressive borders?*) throughout the project. I orient the discipline towards a relational approach, which privileges interconnectivity above individual subjectivity. Furthermore, I apply a transcolonial framework which opens the door to grapple with horizontal vectors of coloniality spanning across time and space. While existing theoretical frameworks such as decolonial or transnational studies also point us toward multiplicities, I understand transcolonial as paying attention to the intercontact zones. Within an increasingly global and digital world, subjects occupying different positionalities organically find themselves within such intercontact zones, unlike the Japanese and the Americans who were thrust into an Occupied Japan. The subversive coalitions forged within these intercontact zones are transcolonial intimacies, constructed through mutual recognitions of humanity, and reimagining connectivity across colonial borders. In sum, colonial power divides through dehumanization, where transcolonial intimacies collaborates through humanization.

Each of my case study chapters have likewise offered insights to address my second research question (*What rhetorical strategies can subjects occupying different positionalities practice to engage each other? What are the implications for*

understanding rhetoric as relational and, in its intimacies, capable of moving across time and space?) in different ways. The transcolonial intimacies observed within each chapter engaged a separate rhetorical strategy, which fostered solidarities across difference. Chapter 1 examined the resurgence of anti-racist themes from the early twentieth century, namely the concepts of the world color line and Black internationalism. These ideas found relevance in the Occupation of Japan, as Black Americans and the Japanese people coalesced around shared experiences of segregation. Discourses around Black American-Japanese encounters, particularly interracial relationships formed between Black American soldiers and Japanese women, illustrated possibilities for community collaboration against global white supremacy. Chapter 2 foregrounded advocacy efforts between American women working for the Occupation forces and Japanese women union leaders, especially as they sought to implement menstruation leave. Rhetorics of containment revealed the complexities of menstruation leave, and Karras's telling of the story of menstruation leave demonstrated one way in which transcolonial intimacies invited Occupation administrators to listen to the voices of Japanese women laborers, to collaborate with grassroots activism. Chapter 3 pointed to the consequences of eating the Other. Japanese foodways changed throughout periods of total war and the Occupation, as the Japanese people struggled to create their own paths for survival. Americans involved in the Occupation became active participants within these Japanese foodways, which led both the Japanese and the Americans to eat foreign foods and thus consume the Other. These culinary experiences led to processes of indigestible reckoning, in which borders between self and Other were rendered permeable, and humanization became inevitable. The affective encounters across themes

of race, gender, and foodways gave rise to rhetorical strategies for cultivating transcolonial intimacies.

The examples of relational resistance explored here can be traced and speculated into the present. In other words, relational resistance reverberates. Kelley explains that "things are not what they seem and that the desires, hopes, and intentions of the people who fought for change cannot be easily categorized, contained, or explained."[2] These complexities indicate how resistant relationalities cannot be mass produced; one budding social movement never be the same as the next, particularly those such as transcolonial intimacies which rely on the deeply personal and interpersonal. Transcolonial intimacies emphasize that we cannot bring multiple people *inside* ourselves in the exact same way. The three different case studies, each offering a separate rhetorical strategy for collaboration, thus argues that relational resistance exists in multitudes. There are still countless interpretations and speculations that could not be adequately explored in the chapters above.

I turn to reverberations, then, to address these various iterations of relational resistance. I propose that reverberations allow the rhetorical critic to connect untethered fragments, to capture the textures of transcolonial intimacies across time and space. I illustrate this by gesturing to how the transcolonial intimacies in each chapter have reverberated to the present in one brief but specific way. It is worth noting that reverberations also orient us toward future directions of research, such as transcolonial intimacies being traced and speculated into intercontact zones beyond the US-Japan dynamic.

---

[2] Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, ix.

First, I return to Black American-Japanese racial solidarities of Occupied Japan. The romantic and sexual relationships between Black American soldiers and Japanese women were catalysts to cultivating Black American-Japanese solidarities in their respective communities across lines of segregation enforced by SCAP and the Japanese government. The primary issue at the time was of multiracial children born between Black American soldiers and Japanese women. These children were disregarded by both Japan and the US, as they failed to fulfill citizenship requirements for both nations. There were movements, incited through transcolonial intimacies, which sought to cross the world color line, advocating to bring these children to be with family in the US. In the decades since the Occupation, the rhetoric of the world color line has declined, but anti-Black racism continues to be an issue, particularly in Japan. However, the rise of Naomi Osaka, both in tennis and in anti-racist activism, has introduced new conversations about race to the Japanese public. Born in 1997, Naomi Osaka maintains both Black and Asian identities as her father is of Haitian heritage and her mother is Japanese. In the summer of 2020, Osaka began to be vocal about anti-Black racism. When she opened the 2020 US Open in September, she brought seven masks, each representing the name of a Black American who was killed by law enforcement. These masks sent a message to viewers that "Osaka was now at the forefront of protest rhetoric against police brutality."[3] Osaka's activism was broadcasted in Japan, which led to anti-Black racism being on a national scale. The discourse of white supremacy and interracial solidarities thus continue to be prevalent, reverberating from the early twentieth century

[3] Megu Itoh and Deion Hawkins, "'If You Don't Fit Expectation, Change It:' Naomi Osaka's Pushback & Rhetoric of Racial Activism," in *Interventions: Asian American Rhetorical Commonplaces across Time and Space*, ed. Amy J. Wan and Morris Young (Modern Language Association, Forthcoming).

into Occupied Japan, and into the present. But anti-racist resistance across borders, embodied by Osaka's activism in the US being discussed in Japan, continues.

Second, I examine the transcolonial intimacies forged between Mead Smith Karras and Japanese women advocating menstruation leave. Here, I observed Smith bringing herself in-focus and out-of-focus throughout her telling of the story. Specifically, Smith negotiated between her role as a civilian Occupationnaire and as a woman who shared experiences with the Japanese women laborers. This tension ultimately came to a head when Japanese women laborers called for a prioritization of allocating sanitary supplies over adopting menstruation leave. Smith came to side with the Japanese women laborers, writing proposals for rationing sanitary supplies to her supervisors. I argue that the reverberations of this movement continue to be felt in Japanese society today through "period poverty."[4] The term period poverty refers to the "inadequate access to a hygienic environment for menstruation, including sanitary facilities and menstrual products, as well as education about menstruation."[5] The COVID-19 pandemic had a devastating effect on women's unemployment in Japan.[6] As a result, women began to face difficulty accessing menstrual products. Despite the policy of menstruation leave which continues to be ratified into Japanese labor law, the same problem of accessing menstrual products remains almost 80 years later. In the present day, Japanese youths are encouraging the public to raise their voices about

[4] Motoyuki Nakao et al., "Relationship Between Menstruation-Related Experiences and Health-Related Quality of Life of Japanese High School Students: A Cross-Sectional Study," *BMC Women's Health* 23 (November 21, 2023).
[5] Alexandra Alvarez, "Period Poverty," *American Medical Women's Association: The Vision and Voice of Women in Medicine Since 1915,* https://www.amwa-doc.org/period-poverty/.
[6] "NHK スペシャル「コロナ危機 女性にいま何が」 データ集,"*NHK,* December 15, 2020, https://www.nhk.or.jp/minplus/0020/topic004.html.

period poverty to bring awareness to the issue. One organization, #みんなの生理 or *#minnanoseiri,* has worked alongside college students to establish the "Student Union for Free Periods."[7] They are dedicated to setting up free menstrual products for university communities. The discourse on access to menstrual products continues, reverberating into the present.

Third, I discuss the transcolonial intimacies which were forged between the Japanese people and Americans who participated in their foodways. The Japanese people were forced to construct their own foodways in late-World War II because they were starved by their own government. The black market channels they built became spots for American soldiers to sell their abundance of rations such as cigarettes, which invoked indigestible reckoning, causing them to reckon with their role as agents of the Occupation. Additionally, the LARA relief efforts cultivated opportunities for transcolonial intimacies between the Nikei, Nisei, and the Japanese. A close examination of foodways at the time reveal how indigestible reckoning worked to humanize the Other. This rhetorical strategy of food as a form of humanization continues to hold relevance in Japan. Although Japanese food is no longer tied to Japanese imperial wartime identity, I argue that there has been a resurgence in Japanese food being reflective of contemporary forms of national identity. For Japanese people in particular, then, the consumption of foreign foods can permeate and unsettle notions of self. To understand the reverberations of this case, we might look, for example, to a restaurant in Tokyo called Nadiya: Restaurant Operated by Ukrainian Refugees.[8] The website calls

[7] "#Project," #みんなの生理, accessed March 3, 2024, https://minnanoseiri.wixsite.com/website/s-projects-side-by-side.
[8] "ウクライナ避難民運営食堂 Nadiya," ウクライナ避難民運営食堂 Nadiya, accessed March 3, 2024, https://www.nadiya-nishitokyo.com/.

for "going beyond acceptance," and their online menu shows homecooked meals such as borscht, pampushka, varenyky, and Ukrainian wines. The goal for the restaurant, according to an interview published in *Yomiuri Shimbun,* is not only to support Ukrainian refugees but also to have them find *ikigai* or a sense of purpose to live.[9] I suggest that the restaurant represents an effort to bring Ukrainian food into Japanese foodways, and to also bring Ukrainian refugees into Japanese society. The idea of foodways, of eating the Other, as a form of humanization reverberates into the present. These transcolonial intimacies observed within each case study illuminate the ways in which rhetoric is relational, creating moments of mutual recognitions of humanity, and how resistance reverberates across time and space.

In this concluding chapter, I want to return to my final research question*: How do these questions—and our attempts to answer them—(re)shape understandings of power and resistance?* Transcolonial intimacies offer one avenue of engagement. However, I do not propose the invention of a groundbreaking approach. Such claims to originality or newness risk the dynamics that Darrel Wanzer-Serrano critiques in Michael Calvin McGee's fragmentation thesis. Specifically, Wanzer-Serrano noted that "McGee's assertion of a major historical break ushering in a new era of fragmentation is problematic. It risks reinforcing a Eurocentric perspective on history."[10] Wanzer-Serrano is especially critical of the fact that fragmentation may seem new "for a first-world subject who occupies a privileged position within the modern/colonial world," but in reality, fragmentation has always existed for those who are pushed to the margins of

[9] "避難民の就労支える料理店　西東京で運営、別当さんら 人気上々、小平に２店目," *Yomiuri Shimbun,* March 22, 2023, https://www.yomiuri.co.jp/local/tokyo23/news/20230321-OYTNT50151/?fbclid=IwAR2I0lZACSiVI9VrCyebZ3ja33XphaVCkmLTioHhzXkOgfBQpNTC9O84Zhk

[10] Wanzer, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," 647.

society.[11] With this in mind, I do not promote the reorientation of rhetoric towards transcolonial frameworks as a revolutionary process. Many scholars before me have engaged ideas of connection and circulation across colonial boundaries. My emphasis on reverberations underlines this point, as whatever we experience is not new, but rather, is an echo of the longstanding dynamics ushered in through colonialism and empire. Thus, this dissertation offers another opportunity to merely complicate our knowledge and practice.

First, this dissertation has disrupted the discipline's historic emphasis on the political and the public. As my use of the term intimacy suggests, this project has been grounded in the collaborations fostered within channels that are traditionally understood to be personal and private. And yet, the resistant relationalities developed here carried—and continue to carry—radical reimaginations that have material consequences. So, this dissertation offers an alternate mode of relationality that remains largely excluded from traditional rhetorical discourse. However, transcolonial intimacies are not a rejection of more traditional forms of relationality such as citizenship. As observed in Chapter 1, with the efforts to secure the immigration of Oishi and her children to New York, transcolonial intimacies were sometimes activated to achieve the benefits of citizenship. Thus, I suggest that transcolonial intimacies offer a form of relationality that is not bound to the borders of a specific nation-state, but rather, exists in a myriad of intercontact zones. And relationality forged within these temporary, mobile, and permeable spaces are worthy of study.

[11] Wanzer, "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality," 651.

Second, I propose that this dissertation has blurred the categories of power and resistance. The application of a transcolonial framework has enabled studies across different vectors of coloniality, cross-cutting vertical and horizontal flows of power. Furthermore, the theorization of transcolonial intimacies has complicated resistance by suggesting that fragments of interpersonal relationality can be understood as subversive collaborations. This dissertation thus reimagines certain shadows on Plato's allegorical cave wall. Specifically, the use of a transcolonial framework, transcolonial intimacies, and reverberations collectively unsettle the previously distinct categories of power and resistance. Put differently, *Tracing Transcolonial Intimacies* transforms what is legible into something illegible, in an effort to encourage the pursuit of alternate realities.

By disrupting conventional categories of analysis, a transcolonial approach alerts the rhetorical critic to previously obfuscated possibilities of engagement. But even as I seek to frame this dissertation as advancing a generative project, I must recognize its limitations and thus future directions of research. To begin, I note that the time period I study is concerned with the rupture and collision of Japanese and US empire, thus grounding me in the study of Occupied Japan. But as noted earlier, Japan was a formidable imperial power and had settler-colonies across Asia. The rupture of Japanese empire and the transfer of colonial administration to a separate Allied power created opportunities for transcolonial intimacies beyond the US-Japan dynamic. For example, Japan's presence was observed and felt in regions such as Indonesia, Bengal, Korea, and the Philippines.[12] The so-called handover process was likely full of transcolonial

[12] See Sven Matthiessen, *Japanese Pan-Asianism and the Philippines from the Late 19th Century to the End of World War II: Going to the Philippines Is like Coming Home?* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2016); Ethan Mark, *Japan's Occupation of Java in the Second World War: A Transnational History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018); Oyshi, Rahee Nayab, "Bengal: The Forgotten Frontier of World War II,"

intimacies that could be studied. Future research on transcolonial intimacies, then, could study exchange between Japan and the Global South to further unsettle traditional forms of study across the East and West.

Finally, I conclude by reconciling with my grandmother's narrative. One of the first things she said in our interview was, "*docchi ni muitemo sensō ga atta/*anywhere you looked, there was war." I used to think that this was an exaggeration, a statement she made just to draw me into her story. Now I know that this was the truth. She was nineteen when the war started, and I was nineteen when I was recording our conversation. It goes without saying that we lived very different lives. Yet, my grandmother's voice reverberates through me, holding me accountable to not only bear witness to her experiences, but to also carry her words into the future. And so, I have written my grandmother into the lines of this dissertation with the understanding that reverberations continue, through these pages into you.

Bangladesh Post, February 18, 2023, https://bangladeshpost.net/posts/bengal-the-forgotten-frontier-of-world-war-ii-106194; Seok-Won Lee, "The Paradox of Racial Liberation: W. E. B. Du Bois and Pan-Asianism in Wartime Japan, 1931–1945," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 513–30.

Bibliography

Agyeman Asante, Godfried. "#RhetoricSoWhite and US Centered: Reflections on Challenges and Opportunities." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105, no. 4 (October 2019): 484–88. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2019.1669892.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Second edition. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Aldous, Chris. "Contesting Famine: Hunger and Nutrition in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952." *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 17, no. 3 (2010): 230–56. https://doi.org/10.1163/187656110X548639.

Allen, Danielle S. *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since Brown v. Board of Education*. Paperback ed. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 2006.

Allison, Anne. "Japanese Mothers and Obentōs: The Lunch-Box as Ideological State Apparatus." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*, edited by Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier, Fourth edition., 48–66. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Anderson, Karrin Vasby. "'Rhymes with Rich': 'Bitch' as a Tool of Containment in Contemporary American Politics." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 2, no. 4 (December 1999): 599–623. https://doi.org/10.1353/rap.2010.0082.

Arkansas State Press. "Soldiers Defying Red Tape to Marry Japanese Girls." February 15, 1952. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Arora, Maneesh, and Christopher T. Stout. "Letters for Black Lives: Co-Ethnic Mobilization and Support for the Black Lives Matter Movement." *Political Research Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (June 2019): 389–402. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912918793222.

Asen, Robert. "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90, no. 2 (May 2004): 189–211. https://doi.org/10.1080/0033563042000227436.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. 2nd ed., Revised. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Austin, Lois. "Mother of Lost Yank Begs U.S. For Son's Japanese Wife, Children." *The Chicago Defender*, December 2, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1968.

Ballif, Michelle, ed. *Theorizing Histories of Rhetoric*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013.

Bandyopadhyay, Ranjan, and Vrushali Patil. "'The White Woman's Burden' – the Racialized, Gendered Politics of Volunteer Tourism." *Tourism Geographies* 19, no. 4 (August 2017): 644–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1298150.

Barthes, Roland. "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*, edited by Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier, Fourth edition., 13–20. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Berlant, Lauren and Warner, Michael. "Sex in Public." *Critical Inquiry*, Intimacy, 24, no. 2 (Winter 1998): 547–66.

Black, Edwin. *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.

Blain, Keisha N., and Tiffany M. Gill. "Introduction: Black Women and the Complexities of Internationalism." In *To Turn the Whole World over: Black Women and Internationalism*, edited by Keisha N. Blain, Tiffany M. Gill, and Michael O. West, 1–12. Black Internationalism. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019.

Blain, Keisha N., Tiffany M. Gill, and Michael O. West, eds. *To Turn the Whole World over: Black Women and Internationalism*. Black Internationalism. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019.

Bobel, Chris. "Introduction: Menstruation as Lens - Menstruation as Opportunity." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 1–6. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

———. *New Blood: Third-Wave Feminism and the Politics of Menstruation*. New Brunswick, New Jersey London: Rutgers University Press, 2010.

———. *The Managed Body: Developing Girls and Menstrual Health in the Global South*. [Corrected publication]. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Bobel, Chris, and Breanne Fahs. "From Bloodless Respectability to Radical Menstrual Embodiment: Shifting Menstrual Politics from Private to Public." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 45, no. 4 (June 2020): 955–83. https://doi.org/10.1086/707802.

———. “The Messy Politics of Menstrual Activism.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 1001–18. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Bobel, Chris, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Boerboom, Samuel. *Political Language of Food*. Lexington Books, 2017.

Briggs, Laura. *Transnational*. Edited by Lisa Disch and Mary Hawkesworth. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199328581.013.49.

Bundles, A’Lelia Perry. *Self Made: Inspired by the Life of Madam C.J. Walker*. Scribner trade paperback edition. New York, NY: Scribner, 2020.

———. *Self Made: Inspired by the Life of Madam C.J. Walker*. Scribner trade paperback edition. New York, NY: Scribner, 2020.

Burke, Kenneth. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. California ed., [Nachrdr.]. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 2013.

———. “Chapter One — Definition of Man.” In *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*, 3–24. Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press, 1966.

———. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*. Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press, 1966.

Butler, Judith. “Precarious Life, Vulnerability, and the Ethics of Cohabitation.” *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 26, no. 2 (April 1, 2012): 134–51. https://doi.org/10.5325/jspecphil.26.2.0134.

Byrd, Brandon R. “Black Women’s Internationalism from the Age of Revolutions to World War I.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, by Brandon R. Byrd. Oxford University Press, 2019. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.434.

Carrillo Rowe, Aimee. *Power Lines: On the Subject of Feminist Alliances*. Durham London: Duke University Press, 2008.

Carrillo Rowe, Aimee Marie. “Be Longing: Toward a Feminist Politics of Relation.” *NWSA Journal* 17, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 15–46.

Chafe, William H., Raymond Gavins, and Robert Rodgers Korstad, eds. *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Talk about Life in the Segregated South*. Paperback edition. New York, [Durham, North Carolina]: The New Press ; In assocation with Lyndhurst Books of the Center for Documentary Studies of Duke University, 2021.

Chandler, Nahum Dimitri. "Introduction: Toward a New History of the Centuries: On The Early Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois." In *The Problem of the Color Line at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Essential Early Essays*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, 1–32. edited by Nahum Dimitri Chandler. Fordham University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1287g49.

Chaput, Catherine. "Rhetorical Circulation in Late Capitalism." *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 43, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.5325/philrhet.43.1.0001.

Chávez, Karma R. "Beyond Inclusion: Rethinking Rhetoric's Historical Narrative." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 162–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2015.994908.

Chávez, Karma R. *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities*. Feminist Media Studies Series. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013.

Chávez, Karma R., and Cindy L. Griffin, eds. *Standing in the Intersection: Feminist Voices, Feminist Practices in Communication Studies*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2012.

Ching, Leo T. S. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Cloud, Dana L. "Rhetorical Criticism for Underdogs." In *Purpose, Practice, and Pedagogy in Rhetorical Criticism*, edited by Jim A. Kuypers, 23–38. Lexington Studies in Political Communication. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014.

Colás, Alejandro. "Food, Multiplicity and Imperialism: Patterns of Domination and Subversion in the Modern International System." *Cooperation and Conflict* 57, no. 3 (September 2022): 384–401. https://doi.org/10.1177/00108367221099802.

Counihan, Carole, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier, eds. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Fourth edition. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Cramer, Janet M., Carlnita P. Greene, and Lynn Walters, eds. *Food as Communication: Communication as Food*. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna. *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity*. 2006th ed. London: Reaktion Books, 2006.

Dan, Alice J. “The Law and Women’s Bodies: The Case of Menstruation Leave in Japan.” *Health Care for Women International* 7, no. 1–2 (January 1986): 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1080/07399338609515719.

deTar, Matthew. “Decolonizing Rhetorical History.” In *Reframing Rhetorical History: Cases, Theories, and Methodologies*, edited by Kathleen J. Turner and Jason Edward Black, 192–211. Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2022.

deTar, Matthew. “Why ‘Anticolonial’ International Rhetorical Studies?” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 24, no. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2021): 191–206.

Dingo, Rebecca, Riedner, Rachel, and Wingard, Jennifer. “Toward a Cogent Analysis of Power: Transnational Rhetorical Studies.” *JAC*, Regulating Childhood and Children’s Rights, 33, no. 3/4 (2013): 517–28.

Discern between Body and Surface Waves, Primary and Secondary Waves, and Love and Rayleigh Waves. Science. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., n.d. https://www.britannica.com/video/181934/rock-vibrations-Earth-earthquake-waves-P-surface#:~:text=Discern%20between%20body%20and%20surface,and%20Love%20and%20Rayleigh%20waves&text=The%20shifting%20rock%20in%20an,Love%20waves%2C%20and%20Rayleigh%20waves.

Disch, Lisa, and M. E. Hawkesworth, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. First issued as an Oxford University Press paperback. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Disch, Lisa Jane, and M. E. Hawkesworth, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*. Oxford Books. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Donald Swann Papers. Gordon W. Prange Collection. College Park, Maryland, USA.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge Classics. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. 1. publ. as paperback. New York, NY: Norton, 2000.

———. *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. 7. printing, corr. By the author. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

Du Bois, W. E. B. “The Color Line Belts the World (1906).” In *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, Bill Mullen, and Cathryn Watson, 33–34, 1st ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005.

———. “The Present Outlook for the Dark Races of Mankind (1900).” In *The Problem of the Color Line at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Essential Early Essays*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, 111–39. edited by Nahum Dimitri Chandler. Fordham University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1287g49.

———. *The Problem of the Color Line at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Essential Early Essays*. Edited by Nahum Dimitri Chandler. Fordham University Press, 2014. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1287g49.

Du Bois, W. E. B., Bill Mullen, and Cathryn Watson. *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line*. 1st ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005.

Du Bois, William E. B. *The Social Theory of W.E.B. Du Bois*. Edited by Phil Zuckerman. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2004.

Dudden, Alexis. *Japan’s Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power*. Pbk. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006.

Dutta, Mohan J. “Narratives of Hunger: Voices at the Margins of Neoliberal Development.” In *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*, edited by Joshua J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, 238–53. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Duus, Peter., Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie. *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937*. 1 online resource vols. Princeton Legacy Library. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014. https://public.ebookcentral.proquest.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3030393.

Eckstein, Justin, and Donovan Conley. “Spatial Affects and Rhetorical Relations: At the Cherry Creek Farmers’ Market.” In *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*, edited by Joshua J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, 171–89. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Edbauer, Jenny. “Unframing Models of Public Distribution: From Rhetorical Situation to Rhetorical Ecologies.” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (September 2005): 5–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/02773940509391320.

Edelstein, David M. “Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail.” *International Security* 29, no. 1 (July 2004): 49–91. https://doi.org/10.1162/0162288041762913.

Edwards, J.E. “Says White GIs Spread Anti-Negro Bias Through World.” *The Chicago Defender*, June 19, 1946.

“Exporting Democracy?: American Women, ‘Feminist Reforms,’ and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952,” 2024.

Fahs, Breanne. “Introduction: Menstruation as Rationale.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 349–51. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Fanon, Frantz. *Alienation and Freedom*. Edited by Jean Khalfa and Robert J. C. Young. Translated by Steven Corcoran. London Oxford New York New Delhi Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.

Fanon, Frantz, and Frantz Fanon. *A Dying Colonialism*. Translated by Haakon Chevalier. Nachdr. New York, NY: Grove Press, 2007.

Fanon, Frantz, and Richard Philcox. *The Wretched of the Earth: Frantz Fanon ; Translated from the French by Richard Philcox ; Introductions by Jean-Paul Sartre and Homi K. Bhabha*. New York: Grove Press, 2004.

Fraser, Nancy. “What’s Critical about Critical Theory? The Case of Habermas and Gender.” *New German Critique*, no. 35 (1985): 97. https://doi.org/10.2307/488202.

Freud, Sigmund. “‘Negation’ (1925h).” In *On Freud’s “Negation,”* edited by Mary Kay O’Neil and Salman Akhtar, 13–17. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Frühstück, Sabine. *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Japan*. New Approaches to Asian History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Frye, Joshua J., and Michael S. Bruner, eds. *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Frye, Joshuau J., and Michael S. Bruner. “Introduction.” In *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power*, edited by Joshua J. Frye and Michael S. Bruner, 1–6. New York: Routledge, 2014.

Gallicchio, Marc S. *The African American Encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895 - 1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Gaybor, Jacqueline, and Wendy Harcourt. “Seeing the Colour Red: Menstruation in Global Body Politics.” *Global Public Health* 17, no. 10 (October 2022): 2388–2400. https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2021.2016886.

Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. 8. print. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 2003.

Gordon W. Prange Collection, College Park, Maryland, USA.

Green, Michael Cullen. *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Military Empire after World War II*. The United States in the World. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010.

Greene, Carlnita P., and Janet M. Cramer. "Beyond Mere Sustenance: Food as Communication/Communication as Food." In *Food as Communication: Communication as Food*, edited by Janet M. Cramer, Carlnita P. Greene, and Lynn Walters, ix–xix. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

Guglielmo, Thomas A. *Divisions: A New History of Racism and Resistance in America's World War II Military*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Hanchey, Jenna N. "Toward a Relational Politics of Representation." *Review of Communication* 18, no. 4 (October 2018): 265–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2018.1519594.

Harrison, Olivia C. "For a Transcolonial Reading of the Contemporary Algerian Novel." *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies* 20, no. 1 (January 2016): 102–10. https://doi.org/10.1080/17409292.2016.1120557.

———. "Transcolonial Studies." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*, by Olivia C. Harrison. Oxford University Press, 2023. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.1303.

Hartman, Saidiya. "The Anarchy of Colored Girls Assembled in a Riotous Manner." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 117, no. 3 (July 2018): 465–90. https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-6942093.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. Race and American Culture. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

———. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals*. First published as a Norton paperback. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2020.

Hashimoto, Akiko. *The Long Defeat: Cultural Trauma, Memory, and Identity in Japan*. New York City: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Hawhee, Debra and Olson, Christa J. “Pan-Historiography: The Challenges of Writing History Across Time and Space.” In *Theorizing Histories of Rhetoric*, edited by Michelle Ballif, 90–105. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013.

Heldke, Lisa M. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

hooks, bell. *Black Looks: Race and Representation*. Boston: South End Press, 1992.

Horne, Gerald. *Facing the Rising Sun: African Americans, Japan, and the Rise of Afro-Asian Solidarity*. New York: New York University Press, 2018.

Houdek, Matthew. “(An) Allegory of the Undercommons: A Rhetorical Slipstream into the Fugitive Temporal Horizon.” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (May 2023): 353–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/02773945.2023.2200701.

Hughes-Watkins, Lae’l. “Moving Toward a Reparative Archive: A Roadmap for a Holistic Approach to Disrupting Homogenous Histories in Academic Repositories and Creating Inclusive Spaces for Marginalized Voices.” *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies* 5, no. 6 (2018).

“Intimacy (Adj.).” In *Online Etymology Dictionary*, n.d. https://www.etymonline.com/word/intimacy.

Inuzuka, Ako. *Non-Western Colonization, Orientalism, and the Comfort Women: The Collective Memory of Sexual Slavery Under the Japanese Imperial Military*. Lanham.: Lexington Books, 2023.

Itoh, Megu, and Deion Hawkins. “‘If You Don’t Fit Expectation, Change It:’ Naomi Osaka’s Pushback & Rhetoric of Racial Activism.” In *Interventions: Asian American Rhetorical Commonplaces across Time and Space*, edited by Amy J. Wan and Morris Young. Modern Language Association, Forthcoming.

Johnson, Jenell M. *American Lobotomy: A Rhetorical History*. Corporealities: Discourses of Disability. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014.

Johnson, Margaret E. “Asking the Menstruation Question to Achieve Menstrual Justice.” *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law* 41, no. 1 (November 2021): 158–68. https://doi.org/10.52214/cjgl.v41i1.8830.

Johnson, Sara E. *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas*. Flashpoints 12. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

———. *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas*. Flashpoints 12. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Johnstone, Henry W. “Rhetoric as a Wedge: A Reformulation.” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (September 1990): 333–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/02773949009390895.

Jonsson, Terese. “The Narrative Reproduction of White Feminist Racism.” *Feminist Review* 113, no. 1 (July 2016): 50–67. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2016.2.

Julier, Alice P., Carole Counihan, and Penny Van Esterik. “Introduction: The Continuing Salience of Food and Culture: A Reader.” In *Food as Communication: Communication as Food*, edited by Janet M. Cramer, Carlnita P. Greene, and Lynn Walters, 1–9. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

Kawai, Yuko. “16 Japanese as Both a ‘Race’ and a ‘Non-Race’: The Politics of Jinshu and Minzoku and the Depoliticization of Japaneseness.” In *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia*, edited by Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel, 368–88. Leiden: Brill, 2015. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004292932_017.

Kearney, Reginald. *African American Views of the Japanese: Solidarity or Sedition?* SUNY Series, Global Conflict and Peace Education. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

Kelley, Robin D. G. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2002.

———. *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2002.

Kelly, Casey Ryan. “Exoticizing Poverty in Bizarre Foods America.” In *Political Language of Food*, edited by Samuel Boerboom, 71–92. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017.

Kilgour, Maggie. *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Koikari, Mire. “Exporting Democracy?: American Women, Feminist Reforms, and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupaton of Japan, 1945-1952.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 1 (2002): 23–45. https://doi.org/10.1353/fro.2002.0006.

———. “Exporting Democracy?: American Women, "Feminist Reforms," and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupaton of Japan, 1945-1952.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 23, no. 1 (2002): 23–45. https://doi.org/10.1353/fro.2002.0006.

Kono, Kimberly T. “Imperializing Motherhood: The Education of a ‘Manchu Girl’ in Colonial Japan.” In *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, edited by Michele Mason and Helen J. S. Lee. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

———. “Imperializing Motherhood: The Education of a ‘Manchu Girl’ in Colonial Manchuria.” In *Reading Colonial Japan*, edited by Michele Mason and Helen Lee, 225–42. Staford: Stanford University Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804781596-018.

Koshiro, Yukiko. “Race as International Identity? ‘Miscegenation’ in the U.S. Occupation of Japan and Beyond.” *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, Internationalizing U.S. History, 48, no. 1 (2003): 61–77.

———. “The U.S. Occupation of Japan as a Mutual Racial Experience.” *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 299–325.

———. *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. Studies of the East Asian Institute. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

———. *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. Studies of the East Asian Institute. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Ku, Robert Ji-Song, Martin F. Manalansan, and Anita Mannur. *Eating Asian America: A Food Studies Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2013.

Kuypers, Jim A., ed. *Purpose, Practice, and Pedagogy in Rhetorical Criticism*. Lexington Studies in Political Communication. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014.

Kwon, Yaejoon. “Transcolonial Racial Formation: Constructing the ‘Irish of the Orient’ in U.S.-Occupied Korea.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 3, no. 2 (April 2017): 268–81. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649216643840.

Laws, Sophie. *Issues of Blood: The Politics of Menstruation*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990.

LeBesco, Kathleen, and Peter Naccarato, eds. *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food and Meaning*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.

———, eds. “Introduction.” In *Edible Ideologies: Representing Food and Meaning*, 1–12. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.

Lee, Helen J. S. “Eating for the Emperor: The Nationalization of Settler Homes and Bodies in the Kōminka Era.” In *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, edited by Michele Mason and Helen J. S. Lee, 159–78. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Lee, Seok-Won. “The Paradox of Racial Liberation: W. E. B. Du Bois and Pan-Asianism in Wartime Japan, 1931–1945.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16, no. 4 (October 2015): 513–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2015.1103012.

LeMesurier, Jennifer Lin. *Inscrutable Eating: Asian Appetites and the Rhetorics of Racial Consumption*. Intersectional Rhetorics. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2023.

Leonard, Rebecca Lorimer. “Multilingual Writing as Rhetorical Attunement.” *College English* 76, no. 3 (January 2014): 227–47.

Lévinas, Emmanuel, and Philippe Nemo. *Ethics and Infinity*. 1st ed. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1985.

Levitt, Rachel B., and Jessica L. Barnack-Tavlaris. “Addressing Menstruation in the Workplace: The Menstrual Leave Debate.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 561–76. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Lindenfeld, Laura. “Visiting the Mexican American Family: *Tortilla Soup* as Culinary Tourism.” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4, no. 3 (September 2007): 303–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420701459723.

Lionnet, Françoise. “Transnationalism, Postcolonialism or Transcolonialism? Reflections on Los Angeles, Geography, and the Uses of Theory.” *Emergences* 10, no. 1 (2000): 25–35.

Lionnet, Françoise, and Shu-mei Shih, eds. *Minor Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

———, eds. *Minor Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Lipari, Lisbeth. *Listening, Thinking, Being: Toward an Ethics of Attunement*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.

Lloyd, Keith, ed. *The Routledge Handbook of Comparative World Rhetorics: Studies in the History, Application, and Teaching of Rhetoric beyond Traditional Greco-Roman Contexts*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2021.

Lois, Austin. “Mother Of Lost Yank Begs U.S. For Son’s Japanese Wife, Children: Missing Yank’s Mother Begs U. S. For His Children, Japanese Wife.” *The Chicago Defender (National Edition) (1921-1967)*, December 2, 1950. 492845540. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Defender. https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/mother-lost-yank-begs-u-s-sons-japanese-wife/docview/492845540/se-2?accountid=14696.

Long, Lucy M., ed. “Chapter 1: Culinary Tourism: A Folkloristic Perspective on Eating and Otherness.” In *Culinary Tourism*, 1. paperback ed., 20–50. Material Worlds. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2010.

———, ed. *Culinary Tourism*. 1. paperback ed. Material Worlds. Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 2010.

———. “Culinary Tourism.” In *Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics*, edited by Paul B. Thompson and David M. Kaplan, 1–8. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6167-4_416-1.

Lowe, Lisa. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.

Lu, Sidney Xu. *The Making of Japanese Settler Colonialism: Malthusianism and Trans-Pacific Migration, 1868-1961*. Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Lye, Colleen. *America’s Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Mackie, Vera. *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

———. *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Maddux, Kristy. *Practicing Citizenship: Women’s Rhetoric at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair*. Rhetoric and Democratic Deliberation, volume 20. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2019.

Maldonado Torres, Nelson. *Against War: Views from the Underside of Modernity*. Latin America Otherwise. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. “On the Coloniality of Being: Contributions to the Development of a Concept.” *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2–3 (March 2007): 240–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162548.

Mandziuk, Roseann M. “‘Ending Women’s Greatest Hygienic Mistake’: Modernity and the Mortification of Menstruation in Kotex Advertising, 1921–1926.” *WSQ: Women’s Studies Quarterly* 38, no. 3–4 (September 2010): 42–62. https://doi.org/10.1353/wsq.2010.0015.

Marable, Manning, and Vanessa Agard-Jones, eds. *Transnational Blackness: Navigating the Global Color Line*. 1st ed. The Critical Black Studies Series. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Mark, Ethan. *Japan's Occupation of Java in the Second World War: A Transnational History*. Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.

Markham, Annette N. "How Can Qualitative Researchers Produce Work That Is Meaningful Across Time, Space, and Culture?" In *Internet Inquiry: Conversations About Method*, by Annette Markham and Nancy Baym, 131–55. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2009. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483329086.n13.

Marlene J. Mayo Oral Histories, 0015-GWP. Special Collections and University Archives.

Mason, Michele, and Helen J. S. Lee, eds. *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Mason, Michele M. *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan: Envisioning the Periphery and the Modern Nation-State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2012. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137330888.

Matthiessen, Sven. *Japanese Pan-Asianism and the Philippines from the Late 19th Century to the End of World War II: Going to the Philippines Is like Coming Home?* Brill's Japanese Studies Library, volume 53. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2016.

Mayo, Marlene J. "A Friend in Need: Esther B. Rhoads, Quakers, and Humanitarian Relief in Allied Occupied Japan, 1946–52." *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 50, no. 1 (2016): 54–92. https://doi.org/10.1353/jwj.2016.0006.

Mbembe, Achille. "The Power of the Archive and Its Limits." In *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh, 19–27. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2002. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-010-0570-8_2.

McCann, Carole R., Seung-Kyung Kim, and Emek Ergun, eds. *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*. Fifth edition. New York, NY: Routledge, 2020.

McCormack, Gavan. *Client State: Japan in the American Embrace*. London; New York: Verso, 2007.

McGee, Michael Calvin. "Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture." *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54, no. 3 (December 1990): 274–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/10570319009374343.

McKerrow, Raymie E. "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis." *Communication Monographs* 56, no. 2 (June 1989): 91–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637758909390253.

McKinnon, Sara L., Robert Asen, Karma R. Chávez, and Robert Glenn Howard, eds. *Text + Field: Innovations in Rhetorical Method*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016.

Mead Smith Karras Papers. Gordon W. Prange Collection. College Park, Maryland, USA.

Mifsud, Mari Lee. "Feminist Praxis of Comparative Rhetoric." In *The Routledge Handbook of Comparative World Rhetorics: Studies in the History, Application, and Teaching of Rhetoric beyond Traditional Greco-Roman Contexts*, edited by Keith Lloyd, 306–14. New York: Routledge, 2021.

Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Miller, Maynard. "Letter to the Commanding General," 1946. Maynard Miller photograph album of occupied Japan. https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4xw4cf66.

Mitchell, Jasmine. "Racism, Prejudice, and Democratization: The Westernization of Japan Under U.S. Occupation, 1945-52," 2019.

Mizumura, Ayako. "Reflecting (on) the Orientalist Gaze: A Feminist Analysis of Japanese -U.S. GIs Intimacy in Postwar Japan and Contemporary Okinawa." PhD diss. University of Kansas, 2009. https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/reflecting-on-orientalist-gaze-feminist-analysis/docview/304917288/se-2.

Moore, Ryan. "Postmodernism and Punk Subculture: Cultures of Authenticity and Deconstruction." *The Communication Review* 7, no. 3 (July 2004): 305–27. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714420490492238.

Mullen, Bill. *Un-American: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Century of World Revolution*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015.

Mullen, Bill, and Cathryn Watson. "Introduction: Crossing the World Color Line." In *W.E.B. Du Bois on Asia: Crossing the World Color Line*, by W. E. B. Du Bois, Bill Mullen, and Cathryn Watson, vii–xxi, 1st ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005.

Murphy, John M., and Michael Lechuga. "The Role of the Critic." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 24, no. 1–2 (Spring-Summer 2021): 51–67.

Myers, Ramon H., and Mark R. Peattie, eds. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Princeton University Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv10crf6c.

Nakao, Motoyuki, Yuko Ishibashi, Yumika Hino, Keiko Yamauchi, and Kotaro Kuwaki. "Relationship Between Menstruation-Related Experiences and Health-Related Quality of Life of Japanese High School Students: A Cross-Sectional Study." *BMC Women's Health* 23 (November 2023).

N.A.P Staff. "LARA: Mutual Compassion, Strong Ties Between Nikkei and Japanese After WWII." *The North American Post*, September 14, 2023. https://napost.com/2023/story-0908/#:~:text=LARA%20stands%20for%20Licensed%20Agencies,organizations%20and%20social%20activist%20groups.

Na'puti, Tiara R. "Rhetorical Contexts of Colonization and Decolonization." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*, by Tiara R. Na'puti. Oxford University Press, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.156.

Narayan, Uma. "Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food." In *Food and Culture: A Reader*, edited by Carole Counihan, Penny Van Esterik, and Alice P. Julier, Fourth edition., 67–87. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Neville-Shepard, Meredith. "'Better Never Means Better for Everyone': White Feminist Necropolitics and Hulu's *The Handmaid's Tale*." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 109, no. 1 (January 2023): 2–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2022.2136738.

Ng, Wendy L. *Japanese American Internment during World War II: A History and Reference Guide*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko. *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities through Time*. 3. print., 1. paperback print. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1995.

Okada, Yasuhiro. "Negotiating Race and Womanhood Across the Pacific: African American Women in Japan under U.S. Military Occupation, 1945-52." *Black Women, Gender + Families* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 71–96.

———. "Race, Masculinity, and Military Occupation: African American Soldiers' Encounters with the Japanese at Camp Gifu, 1947-1951." *The Journal of African American History* 96, no. 2 (n.d.): 179–203.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. "Chapter 4: The Theory of Racial Formation." In *Racial Formation in the United States*, by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, 105–36, Third edition. New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.

———. *Racial Formation in the United States*. Third edition. New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.

Onishi, Yuichiro. “The New Negro of the Pacific: How African Americans Forged Cross-Racial Solidarity with Japan, 1917-1922.” *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 191–213.

———. “The New Negro of the Pacific: How African Americans Forged Cross-Racial Solidarity with Japan, 1917-1922.” *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (April 2007): 191–213. https://doi.org/10.1086/JAAHv92n2p191.

———. *Transpacific Antiracism: Afro-Asian Solidarity in Twentieth-Century Black America, Japan, and Okinawa*. 1st publ. in paperback. New York, NY: New York Univ. Press, 2014.

Ono, Kent A., and John M. Sloop. “The Critique of Vernacular Discourse.” *Communication Monographs* 62, no. 1 (March 1995): 19–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637759509376346.

Payne, Ethel. “Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: ‘Chocolate Joe’ Used, Amused, Confused.” *The Chicago Defender*, November 18, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

———. “Says Japanese Girls Playing GIs For Suckers: Says Fate That Awaits War Babies Is Tragedy of Yank Oriental Unions.” *The Chicago Defender*, November 25, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Perelman, Chaim, Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, and Chaim Perelman. *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation*. Reprinted. Notre Dame, Ind: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

Persdotter, Josefin. “Introducing Menstrunormativity: Toward a Complex Understanding of ‘Menstrual Monsterings’.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 357–74. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Pham, Vincent N. “The Threat of #RhetoricNotSoWhite.” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105, no. 4 (October 2019): 489–94. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2019.1669894.

Plaindealer. “Japanese Women, G.I. End Lives.” March 21, 1947. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Poirot, Kristan. “Domesticating the Liberated Woman: Containment Rhetorics of Second Wave Radical/Lesbian Feminism.” *Women’s Studies in Communication* 32, no. 3 (October 2009): 263–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2009.10162391.

Pomfret, David M. *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2016.

Pritzker, Sonya E., and Sabina Perrino. "Culture inside: Scale, Intimacy, and Chronotopic Stance in Situated Narratives." *Language in Society* 50, no. 3 (June 2021): 365–87. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404520000342.

Purnell, Brian, Jeanne Theoharis, and Komozi Woodard, eds. *The Strange Careers of the Jim Crow North: Segregation and Struggle Outside of the South*. New York: New York University Press, 2019.

Purnell, Brian, Jeanne Theoharis, Komozi Woodard, Brian Purnell, and Jeanne Theoharis, eds. "Introduction: Histories of Racism and Resistance, Seen and Unseen: How and Why To Think about the Jim Crow North." In *The Strange Careers of the Jim Crow North: Segregation and Struggle Outside of the South*, 1–42. New York: New York University Press, 2019.

Rath, Eric C. *Japan's Cuisines: Food, Place and Identity*. First published. London: Reaktion Books, 2016.

Rawson, K. J. "The Rhetorical Power of Archival Description: Classifying Images of Gender Transgression." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (August 2018): 327–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/02773945.2017.1347951.

Ray, Angela G. "Rhetoric and the Archive." *Review of Communication* 16, no. 1 (January 2016): 43–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2016.1183877.

Rickert, Thomas J. *Ambient Rhetoric: The Attunements of Rhetorical Being*. Pittsburgh Series in Composition, Literacy, and Culture. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013.

Riley, Kathleen C., and Amy L. Paugh. *Food and Language: Discourses and Foodways across Cultures*. Routledge Foundations in Linguistic Anthropology. New York: Routledge, 2019.

Ritchie, Marnie. "Rhetoric and Critical Affect Theory." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.1301.

Roberts, Tomi-Ann. "Introduction: Menstruation as Embodied." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 177–79. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Rogers, Thomas S. “The Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia: Esther B. Rhoads and Humanitarian Efforts in Postwar Japan, 1946-1952.” *Quaker History* 83, no. 1 (March 1994): 18–33. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1994.0014.

Roy, Parama. “Reading Communities and Culinary Communities: The Gastropoetics of the South Asian Diaspora.” *Positions: Asia Critique* 10, no. 2 (May 2002): 471–502. https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-10-2-471.

Roy, Srila. “Four Transnational Feminism and the Politics of Scale: The 2012 Antirape Protests in Delhi.” In *Transnational Feminist Itineraries*, edited by Ashwini Tambe and Millie Thayer, 71–85. Duke University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781478021735-006.

Rufo, Kenneth, and R. Jarrod Atchison. “From Circus to Fasces: The Disciplinary Politics of Citizen and Citizenship.” *Review of Communication* 11, no. 3 (July 2011): 193–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2011.578255.

Russell, John. “Race and Reflexivity: The Black Other in Contemporary Japanese Mass Culture.” *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 1 (February 1991): 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1525/can.1991.6.1.02a00010.

Saito, Yuriko. *Aesthetics of the Familiar: Everyday Life and World-Making*. First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Schaller, Michael. *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia*. 1. issued as an Oxford Univ. Press paperback. Oxford Paperbacks. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1987.

Schuller, Kyla. *The Trouble with White Women: A Counterhistory of Feminism*. First edition. New York: Bold Type Books, 2021.

Schwartz, Joan M., and Terry Cook. “Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory.” *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (March 2002): 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02435628.

Scott, Joan W. “Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism.” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 32–50.

Scott, Robert L. “On Viewing Rhetoric as Epistemic.” *Central States Speech Journal* 18, no. 1 (February 1967): 9–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510976709362856.

Scott, Wallach, Joan. “Feminist Reverberations.” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 1–23.

Shigematsu, Setsu, and Keith L. Camacho. “Introduction: Militarized Currents, Decolonizing Futures.” In *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, edited by Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, xv–xlviii. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

———, eds. *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Shome, Raka. “Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An ‘Other’ View.” *Communication Theory* 6, no. 1 (February 1996): 40–59. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.1996.tb00119.x.

———. “The Obligation of Critical (Rhetorical) Studies to Build Theory.” *Western Journal of Communication* 77, no. 5 (October 2013): 514–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2013.799286.

Shugart, Helene A. “Sumptuous Texts: Consuming ‘Otherness’ in the Food Film Genre.” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 25, no. 1 (March 2008): 68–90. https://doi.org/10.1080/15295030701849928.

Simonson, Peter. “The Short History of Rhetorical Theory.” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 53, no. 1 (2020): 75–88.

Soto Vega, Karrieann M. “Afterlives of Anticolonial Dissent: Performances of Public Memory within and against the United States of América.” *Journal for the History of Rhetoric* 24, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 69–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/26878003.2021.1881311.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Stalley, R. F., Aristotle, and Ernest Barker. *Politics (Oxford World’s Classics)*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

Steele, Linda, and Beth Goldblatt. “The Human Rights of Women and Girls with Disabilities: Sterilization and Other Coercive Responses to Menstruation.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 77–91. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Stephens-Chu, Maura. “From Sacred to Secret: Tracing Changes in Views of Menstruation in Japan.” *Silva Iaponicarum*, no. 60–61 (March 2020): 66. https://doi.org/10.12775/sijp.2019.60-61.4.

Stillion Southard, Belinda A. *How to Belong: Women's Agency in a Transnational World*. Rhetoric and Democratic Deliberation, volume 18. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018.

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.
———. *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Stone, Melissa. "Diffractive Menstruation: Toward a Technical-Rhetorical Perspective of Menstrual Health Technologies." *Women's Studies in Communication* 46, no. 3 (July 2023): 312–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/07491409.2023.2218818.

Stormer, Nathan. "An Appetite for Rhetoric." *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 48, no. 1 (February 2015): 99–106. https://doi.org/10.5325/philrhet.48.1.0099.

———. "Rhetoric's Diverse Materiality: Polythetic Ontology and Genealogy." *Review of Communication* 16, no. 4 (October 2016): 299–316. https://doi.org/10.1080/15358593.2016.1207359.

Stormer, Nathan, and Bridie McGreavy. "Thinking Ecologically About Rhetoric's Ontology: Capacity, Vulnerability, and Resilience." *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 50, no. 1 (February 2017): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.5325/philrhet.50.1.0001.

Tajima, Shizue. "Western Home-Style Foods That Can Be Made With Rations (配給材料で出来る洋風家庭料理)." *Eiyo to Ryori (栄養と料理)*, October 25, 1946. Gordon W. Prange Collection.

Takemae, Eiji, Robert Ricketts, and Sebastian Swann. *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy*. New York: Continuum, 2002.

Taketani, Etsuko. *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars*. Re-Mapping the Transnational : A Dartmouth Series in American Studies. Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2014.

———. *The Black Pacific Narrative: Geographic Imaginings of Race and Empire between the World Wars*. Re-Mapping the Transnational : A Dartmouth Series in American Studies. Hanover, New Hampshire: Dartmouth College Press, 2014.

Takeuchi, Michiko. "At the Crossroads of Equality versus Protection: American Occupationnaire Women and Socialist Feminism in US Occupied Japan, 1945–1952." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 38, no. 2 (2017): 114–47. https://doi.org/10.5250/fronjwomestud.38.2.0114.

———. “Cold War Manifest Domesticity: The ‘Kitchen Debate’ and Single American Occupationnaire Women in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952.” *U.S.-Japan Women’s Journal* 50, no. 1 (2016): 3–28. https://doi.org/10.1353/jwj.2016.0004.

Tambe, Ashwini, and Millie Thayer, eds. *Transnational Feminist Itineraries: Situating Theory and Activist Practice*. Next Wave. Durham: Duke University Press, 2021.

Tauchi, Kosuke. “One in Four Foreign Interns Told to Quit If Pregnant: Survey.” *The Asahi Shimbun*, January 13, 2023. https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14805747#:~:text=A%20quarter%20of%20female%20foreign,the%20first%20of%20its%20kind.

Taylor-Garcia, Daphne V. “Decolonial Historiography: Thinking about Land and Race in a Transcolonial Context.” *InTensions*, November 2012. https://doi.org/10.25071/1913-5874/37374.

The Chicago Defender. “Army Denies Aid to Japanese Wife of Missing GI; Soldiers Pass Hat.” January 13, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

The Chicago Defender. “Photo Standalone 4 -- No Title.” April 21, 1951. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

“The Migrant’s Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households.” *Gastronomica* 5, no. 4 (November 2005): 122–23. https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2005.5.4.122.

Tompkins, Kyla Wazana. “Literary Approaches to Food Studies.” *Food, Culture & Society* 8, no. 2 (September 2005): 243–58. https://doi.org/10.2752/155280105778055326.

———. *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the Nineteenth Century*. America and the Long 19th Century. New York: New York University press, 2012.

Trivedi, Harish. “The Postcolonial or the Transcolonial? Location and Language.” *Interventions* 1, no. 2 (January 1999): 269–72. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698019900510371.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*. New paperback printing. Princeton Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021.

Tuck, Eve and Yang, K. Wayne. “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.

Turner, Kathleen J., and Jason Edward Black, eds. *Reframing Rhetorical History: Cases, Theories, and Methodologies*. Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2022.

———, eds. *Reframing Rhetorical History: Cases, Theories, and Methodologies*. Rhetoric, Culture, and Social Critique. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2022.

Vats, Anjali, and LeiLani Nishime. "Containment as Neocolonial Visual Rhetoric: Fashion, Yellowface, and Karl Lagerfeld's 'Idea of China.'" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 99, no. 4 (November 2013): 423–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2013.833668.

Voice of the Negro. "The Death Grapple at Shakhe River." November 1904.

Voice of the Negro. "The Peace of Portsmouth." October 1905.

Wanzer, Darrel Allan. "Delinking Rhetoric, or Revisiting McGee's Fragmentation Thesis through Decoloniality." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 15, no. 4 (December 2012): 647–57. https://doi.org/10.2307/41940627.

Wanzer-Serrano, Darrel. "Rhetoric's Rac(e/Ist) Problems." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 105, no. 4 (October 2019): 465–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/00335630.2019.1669068.

Wendy S. Hesford and Eileen E. Schell. "Introduction: Configurations of Transnationality: Locating Feminist Rhetorics." *College English*, Special Topic: Transnational Feminist Rhetorics, 70, no. 5 (May 2008): 461–70.

West, Michael O., and William G. Martin. "Introduction: Contours of the Black International: From Toussaint to Tupac." In *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution*, edited by Michael O. West, William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins, 1–44. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

West, Michael O., William G. Martin, and Fanon Che Wilkins, eds. *From Toussaint to Tupac: The Black International since the Age of Revolution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Wilson, L. Alex. "400 to Wed Tokyo Girls: Anxious to Bring War Babies Home." *The Chicago Defender*, November 4, 1950. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Winkler, Inga T. "Introduction: Menstruation as Fundamental." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 9–13. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

———. “Introduction: Menstruation as Structural.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Menstruation Studies*, edited by Chris Bobel, Inga Winkler, Breanne Fahs, Katie Ann Hasson, Elizabeth Arveda Kissling, and Tomi-Ann Roberts, 469–74. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

Wong, Edlie. “Black Lives Matter, W. E. B. Du Bois’s World Color Line, and the Question of Relation.” *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 136, no. 3 (May 2021): 463–69. https://doi.org/10.1632/S0030812921000353.

Woods, Carly S. “(Im)Mobile Metaphors: Toward an Intersectional Rhetorical History.” In *Standing in the Intersection: Feminist Voices, Feminist Practices in Communication Studies*, edited by Karma R. Chávez and Cindy L. Griffin, 78–96. Albany: SUNY Press, 2012.

Yamamuro, Shin’ichi. *Shisō Kadai to Shite No Ajia: Kijiku, Rensa, Tōki*. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 2001.

Yoneyama, Lisa. “Liberation under Siege: U.S. Military Occupation and Japanese Women’s Enfranchisement,” 2024.

Young, Anna M., Justin Eckstein, and Donovan Conley. “Rhetorics and Foodways.” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 12, no. 2 (April 2015): 198–99. https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2015.1013561.

Young, Iris Marion. “Menstrual Meditations.” In *On Female Body Experience*, by Iris Marion Young, 97–122, 1st ed. Oxford University Press, 2005. https://doi.org/10.1093/0195161920.003.0007.

Young, Louise. *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. 1. paperback print. Twentieth Century Japan 8. Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1999.

Zakaria, Rafia. *Against White Feminism: Notes on Disruption.* New York: W W Norton, 2022.

Zarefsky, David. “Four Senses of Rhetorical History.” In *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, edited by Kathleen J. Turner, 19–32. University of Alabama Press, 1998.

小野千佐子. “布ナプキンを通じた月経観の変容に関する研究：「存在する月経」への選択肢を求めて.” 同志社大学大学院総合政策科学会, December 20, 2009. https://doi.org/10.14988/pa.2017.0000012631.

田中ひかる. 生理用品の社会史. Shohan. Tōkyō: Kadokawa, 2019.